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THE HISTORY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Robertson (Thomas) DD, Minister of Dalmeny

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James Sutherland

THE

HISTORY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

INCLUDING

AN EXAMINATION OF THE WRITINGS
WHICH WERE ASCRIBED TO HER.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

APPENDIXES,

CONTAINING COPIES OF THOSE WRITINGS;
AND ALSO, OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER
OF HER GENUINE COMPOSITIONS.

By THOMAS ROBERTSON, D. D. F. R. S. Edin.
Minister of Dalmeny.

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M,DCC,XCIII.



TO THE

KING.

SIR,

I dedicate to Your Majeſty, the Hiſtory of one of Your Royal anceſtors: Of a Queen, who hath been celebrated for her accompliſhments, her talents and her misfortunes: Who ſuffered more, from the uſurpation of her Government; from the judicial proceedings which illegally were carried on againſt her; and from the long continued perſecution to which ſhe was expoſed, during her captivity, Than any perſon, whoſe life is on record.

Your Majeſty's ſubjects in this part of the iſland, look back to thoſe times of

diſloyalty, factions and troubles, with gratitude to Almighty God that they live in a period, in which, regular Government is eſtabliſhed; juſtice is held in reverence; happineſs is enjoyed; and the Throne is upheld, both by the Principles of the Conſtitution, and by the warm attachment of the People to Your Majeſty's perſon and illuſtrious Houſe.

Europe preſents no ſcene, Sir, like that of Your Majeſty's dominions. In many countries, Abſolute Power, the common ill, both of the Prince and of the ſubjects, hath long been exerciſed. In a neighbouring nation, the violent meaſures purſued, to deſtroy the former Government, and to regain their liberties, have overwhelmed many of thoſe Eſtabliſhments and Diſtinctions, which, for the good of Civil Society, a wiſe people, would have ſtudiouſly wiſhed to preſerve.

Great Britain rejoices in her ſecurity, from ſuch extremes, of arbitrary dominion,

on

on the one ſide; and of licentiouſneſs, on the other. Freedom is enjoyed, in a degree, unknown to modern, or to ancient times: The Crown, the Church, and the Nobility of the realm, are joined in harmony with the People, for the general welfare; and co-operate, with an envied effect, to the intereſts, and to the dignity of the whole State. The Britiſh Conſtitution, hath been ſo generouſly planned, and ſo wiſely balanced, that the Sovereign, from a ſituation the loftieſt in which a Prince can be placed, The King of a Free People, may caſt his eyes over the whole earth, and ſee no Government ſo ſecure, and no Nation ſo happy and ſo great, as his own.

While Your Majeſty, and the Subjects under Your Royal ſceptre, have this ſcene of national triumph, ſo juſtly to exult in, the liberal encouragement which hath been ſo often given by the Throne to the Arts and to Learning at large, and that paternal condeſcenſion which Your Majeſty hath ever been ready to ſhow, to all orders of the

People, have emboldened me to aſpire at Your auguſt patronage of the following Work.

I am,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's

Loyal ſubject,

And faithful Servant,

THOMAS ROBERTSON.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

AS there is no ſubject ſo intereſting, as Hiſtory, it has juſtly, been a matter of regret, that many portions of it, are either in a ſtate of uncertainty, or of darkneſs. Where there are no means to ſupply the defects; where the inquiry refers to countries far diſtant from our own, or to times very remote from thoſe in which we live, we reſign ourſelves, with leſs reluctance, to the loſs. But when important events, which have come to paſs near to our own age, and within the boſom of our native land, have not been ſufficiently accounted for; and the conduct and characters of the chief agents, not ſatisfactorily explained, it is not merely a diſappointment with reſpect to curioſity, that we experience: We feel anxiety and pain.

The hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scots, is an example. Not that it has failed, to attract the attention, and to employ the abilities of the learned; but that, after exertions,

ertions, unuſually numerous and able have been made, the great points of debate to which it has led, remain ſtill in an undecided ſtate. Party-ſpirit, has run high: Two hundred years, may have abated, but have not conquered its force: Hiſtorians and Critics, have recently entered the field, as if it never almoſt, had been trodden before.

It is in vain, in ſuch a caſe, to expect, that the queſtion will be no longer agitated: The pain that attends uncertainty, The nature of man, as an inquiſitive being, forbid it to reſt. Poſterity, in every ſucceeding age, will ſtop at this ſignal part of our ſtory; will revolve the great and tragical events which then took place; regret, that there have been handed down, no explications of them, but what are eagerly diſputed; and bend their thoughts to the ſolution of a problem, which, in point of any general acquieſcence, in what has been written on either ſide, had fruitleſsly exerciſed the talents of their anceſtors.

Whether the leading tranſactions in Queen Mary's reign, are matters of moment or not, is decided by the intereſt which mankind have taken in them, ever ſince they came to paſs. For many years, in that period, the ſubject drew the attention, and raiſed the anxiety of Scotland, England and France; and after it ceaſed to be a point

in

in which Courts were engaged, it did not loſe its hold of private men; but continues to be a matter of freſh diſcuſſion and conteſt, at this day.

Simple events could not excite, and ought not to have been followed with, ſuch a laſting concern. But the cauſe of Queen Mary, was of a very different kind. It involved the ſtate of Religion; the views of Princes; the general manners of the age; the characters of almoſt every perſon, then in power, in the iſland; the public meaſures, together with the political diviſions which for a conſiderable period ſucceeded; and which, in ſome degree, operate till the preſent times. Independent of all theſe, there were, both, very ſtriking features of character; and very affecting events in life, in what referred perſonally to the Queen of Scots. The narrative, in its ſimpleſt ſtyle, related, That a Princeſs, on all hands, admitted to have been the moſt beautiful in her perſon, of that age; elegant in her accompliſhments; great in her ſpirit; and lovely in her manners, had been expoſed, for the ſpace of more than twenty years, to unexampled ſeverity; and at laſt publicly brought to an unjuſt and a cruel end. Every way that it was viewed, the hiſtory drew tears; whether compoſed, by thoſe who wrote favourably, or by thoſe who

who wrote unfavourably, of the unfortunate Queen.

That zeal has not been wanting, which ſuch a ſubject inſpires. A keen, and a violent oppoſition of ſentiments, has for the moſt part, taken place. On the one ſide, it has been contended, from certain writings aſcribed to her, that Queen Mary was acceſſary to the death of her huſband: On the other, that thoſe writings are forged; and therefore, that the Queen was innocent.

However properly, thoſe writings furniſh one article in the diſpute, it is ſurpriſing, that the whole of it, has been confined, almoſt entirely to *them;* eſpecially, as the concluſions on both ſides, do not appear to follow from their reſpective premiſes. Queen Mary, might have actually compoſed the writings, and yet have been innocent of the murder; for it is admitted, that there are only contained in them, dark hints and ambiguous expreſſions, with regard to that point. On the other hand, the writings might have been forged by her adverſaries; and yet the Queen, have been guilty of that very charge which was brought againſt her.

The cauſe of this Princeſs, at the conferences and trial in England, was reſted ſolely indeed, upon the writings aſcribed to her; but this was, becauſe thoſe writings were the only grounds of accuſation, which

a Court of law had to judge of. Nothing elſe had appeared againſt her, which could be tried at law. It is that circumſtance, which ſeems to have miſled the writers upon both ſides; and ſo far, as to have confined them, chiefly to the ſame grounds, ever ſince.

With regard to another point, The reality of her affection for Bothwell, this too, has been maintained, chiefly upon the authority of the writings. Her enemies have ſtrongly inſiſted upon them, as proofs of that affection: While her friends, have hardly made any other reply, than that they are forged. Whether or not, from the character and conduct of Queen Mary, there be any evidence at all of ſuch an attachment, by no means appears to have been the ſubject of ſufficient inveſtigation.

In ſuch a manner, has a controverſy been carried on, which has agitated to a high degree of animoſity, the literary world. But how have the Public at large, judged of it? Have They too, formed their opinion from a ſcrutiny into the writings? Have They, inferred from *them*, that Queen Mary conſpired againſt her huſband? No man will venture to make ſuch a ſuppoſition. The ſubject is ſingularly intricate; and the Public have ſeldom or never entered into ſuch minute and critical

tical diſcuſſions. They judge, in general, from events; and ſo far as we can collect their ſentiments, they appear to have been almoſt of one mind, in holding Queen Mary to be a party in the plot againſt her huſband; and it ſhould ſeem, have drawn that concluſion, chiefly, if not ſolely, from the fact of her marriage with Bothwell.

It was that concluſion, authorized by ſo numerous a body, as almoſt to be exempted from ſuſpicions of party-influence, which prompted me to undertake a reſearch into the hiſtory of Queen Mary; and the reſult of my inquiry, accorded with the ſentiments which they entertained. At the ſame time, I found, from an examination of the whole ſubject, that although the Queen of Scots, in conſequence of her marriage with Bothwell, was liable to the charge which has been ſtated, Her conduct in agreeing to that match, could not, upon any ſufficient hiſtorical evidence, be aſcribed, as has commonly been done, to a paſſion for that Nobleman. The true motives, by which ſhe was impelled to ſuch a fatal ſtep, and alſo the particular amount of her ſhare in the conſpiracy againſt Darnly, I have attempted to bring to light, in the courſe of the following Hiſtory.

It has alſo been endeavoured, in a ſeparate Book, to compriſe in a ſhort compaſs,

paſs, and in as plain and diſtinct a form, as the ſubject could admit. The Proofs, from which it appears manifeſtly to follow, that the writings aſcribed to Queen Mary, were not the productions of her pen.

In the following Work, the plan of which, is confined chiefly to the Perſonal hiſtory of Queen Mary, The two principal objects in view, have been, To aſcertain, what was the real character of that Princeſs; and, To explain, what were the actual principles of her conduct; eſpecially, in the leading ſcenes of her life. It was not neceſſary for thoſe purpoſes, to relate a great number of detached events, or ſmall circumſtances concerning her; and which are to be met with in ſo many performances, already in the hands of the public: At the ſame time, there is introduced, every particular, however minute, that was found ſubſervient to the ends of this undertaking.

I have drawn the character of the Queen of Scots, in colours, which hitherto have not been employed; and have accounted for her conduct, upon principles, different from thoſe, by which, it has formerly been explained. What I have to plead for myſelf, in taking up ſo arduous a queſtion, and in attempting to bring it to a cloſe, ſhall be compriſed in few words. I truſted in the moderation and candour of the preſent times; in which, the ſhackles both of

Parties

Parties in politics, and of Names in literature, are beginning to ſlacken; and I ſubmit my Work, implicitly, and with much deference, to the judgment of the Public. For an author to ſpeak of his impartiality, and of the diligence which he has uſed, would be to give his own account of himſelf, and of his labours.

Two circumſtances, tended to induce me to publiſh the reſult of my inquiries, The conviction which ſeemed already to have been produced among the learned in general, by thoſe authors who have, of late years, ſtated the proofs of the forgery of the writings which have been aſcribed to Queen Mary; and The concurrence of my own literary friends*, in the explication which I have given, of the great points in her hiſtory.

It was the firſt thing I reſolved upon, to enter into no diſpute, with any author whatever. And I have farther to remark, that the writers upon the Hiſtory of Queen Mary, having been not only the moſt learned, but perhaps the moſt numerous, that have

* I embrace this opportunity, of mentioning, in particular, the late Dr SMITH. The friendſhip of that great man and philoſopher, which I enjoyed, and which never will be effaced from my memory, gave me the advantage of obtaining, his deliberate and particular examination of my Manuſcripts; and it was a circumſtance ſingularly gratifying, to me that he declared, (to uſe his own words) That I had "ſatisfied" him.

have ever treated any hiſtorical ſubject, To have referred to their various opinions; quoted from their works; ſtated the diſcuſſions into which they have entered with one another; and pointed out all the particulars, in which I have either agreed with, or have preſumed to differ from them, would have produced an immenſe publication, in place of the ſmall volume, which is here preſented to the world.

With regard to the particular ſubject of this Work, the variety of occurrences, and the extreme viciſſitudes of fortune related in it, furniſh a ſcene to the reader, both more amuſing and affecting, than what is to be met with, in the events of any age. The cataſtrophes in the life of that Perſonage, to whom it refers, it has been juſtly remarked, have nothing parallel to them, in the real, or in the fictitious hiſtory of man. To the life of Mary Queen of Scots, every thing upon record gives place. Events are without precedent: Adverſity, beyond meaſure: The hypocriſy, perfidy and malice of her enemies, without bounds: Their violence and cruelty, almoſt beyond conception.

Yet theſe are neither the only, nor the chief points of view, in which her hiſtory ſtands forth. That Princeſs met her fate, in all its different ſtages and ſhapes, with a complacency, a fortitude, and a Royal

dignity, equal to its greateſt and moſt bitter extremes. Queen Mary has drawn the attention of mankind, by her talents, magnanimity and virtues, as well as by her misfortunes. Of the Royal Houſe from which ſhe ſprang, the moſt devoted to adverſity, that has been known almoſt upon earth, She was the higheſt Character, as well as the greateſt Sufferer.

DALMENY,
May 6. 1793.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK I.

The History of Queen Mary, from her birth, till her marriage with Darnly.

QUEEN MARY was descended from a race of Princes in Scotland, of a brilliant character. They were distinguished for personal bravery, and for a peculiar eagerness of spirit and sensibility of frame. They were also possessed of political talents; fond of magnificence; and by their generous and affable manners, fitted to obtain popularity with the nation: A circumstance, which, in those times, when the Scottish Sovereigns had to struggle so hard with their Nobles, was found highly advantageous to the throne.

BOOK I.

James V. her father, diſplayed all thoſe qualities, in a ſtill higher degree, than his anceſtors. He was more popular and more formidable. But his ambition leading him too far, active and bold and high minded as he was, all his efforts proved in vain againſt the Scottiſh nobility. He gave way, ſucceſſively, to extreme impatience, to melancholy, to ſullen indignation; and died of grief, in the flower of his age *.

Mary, of the Houſe of Guiſe in France, her mother, inherited to the full, the intriguing and aſpiring ſpirit of that family; but ſhe tempered it with the milder virtues of gentleneſs and of moderation, more peculiar to her ſex. Nature qualified her for the high ſtation of Regent, which upon the death of her huſband ſhe came to fill; but art, refinement and inſincerity, were not unfrequently, to be ſeen among the features of her conduct, during the adminiſtration of that office.

Of ſuch parents was Mary Queen of Scots born †; and her hiſtory bears no ſmall teſtimony to ſuch a lineage. The towering mind and ardent ſenſibility of the father, the lenity and addreſs of the mother, were eaſily to be diſcerned in their common offſpring; while nature, at the ſame time, by mingling together theſe ſeveral qualities, produced a third character, ſuperior to the two from which it had

* In 1542; and a few days only after the birth of his daughter Queen Mary.

† December 8. 1542, in the royal palace of Linlithgow.

had ſprung. A majeſty, which was mild, but ſtill commanding; a ſpirit, which from being impetuous, was ſtill permanent and hardy, were derived from the Houſe of Stuart: While no faint ſtamps were tranſmitted, of what was ill, as well as of what was good, in the Houſe of Guiſe.

That the character of Queen Mary ſhould have been the neceſſary reſult of ſuch a deſcent, even aided by the effects of a French education, cannot be affirmed. The diſpoſitions and capacities of mankind, are often found, in a great degree, different, even from thoſe, of their immediate progenitors: But that this was the actual character of the Queen of Scots, appears to be a fact, from a review of her life.

At the age of ſix years, the young Queen was carried to France; and remained there till ſhe was paſt eighteen. During that period of human life, the mind is generally formed, ſo far as education can mould and inſtruct it; and nature, at the ſame time, diſcloſes its chief perſonal characteriſtics. In both theſe reſpects, we behold the dawn of Queen Mary, correſponding with the tenor of her after years.

The accounts of this Princeſs, while ſhe was in France, are drawn with warm and glowing colours; and however exaggerated the praiſes may ſometimes be that are beſtowed upon her, they are evidences, that even in that poliſhed country, as well as in Europe at large,

BOOK I.

the attractions and talents with which ſhe was endowed, were ſubjects of great admiration. The beauty of her form, and the virtues of her mind, (ſays Brantome) captivated all who ſaw her. She was early ſkilled in the Italian, Spaniſh, and Latin tongues, as well as miſtreſs of the French. Even when under fourteen, ſhe pronounced in preſence of the court, a Latin oration compoſed by herſelf; the object of which was to ſhew, that it was not unbecoming in women, to be acquainted with learning and with the liberal arts. She employed two hours every day in ſtudy and reading; and there were few ſciences but what ſhe could ſpeak upon intelligently. Above all, ſhe loved poetry; and compoſed with eaſe, verſes of great beauty and elegance. She excelled beſides in proſe; particularly in her letters, diſtinguiſhed for eloquence and dignity. The ſtyle of her converſation, was ſoft and delicate; majeſtic, at the ſame time; and withal, modeſt, familiar, and remarkably graceful. Her voice was in an high degree, pleaſant and ſweet. She played upon the lute, (continues Brantome) and ſung to it, with an enchanting ability. As in the hiſtory of great perſonages, every particular excellence is uſually taken notice of, it is farther related, that in dancing, ſhe was praiſed for ſingular grace. She rode likewiſe on horſeback with ſkill: The chace was a favourite amuſement of which ſhe often partook *.

Upon

* Brantome, Conæus *apud* Jebb 478, 15.

Upon the death of her huſband, the King of France *, ſhe compoſed that elegy which has been admired by all perſons of taſte. It is an elegant, ingenious, mournfully pleaſant poem; exhibiting in ſeveral paſſages of it, the human mind in the moſt pathetic of all ſituations—in love with its own ſorrows. This piece, it may be here obſerved, which ought to have been quoted, only on purpoſe to add to her fame, has unhappily, to ſerve a different end, been found neceſſary to ſhield her from infamy; and to be ſtated as a proof, that the ſame hand which wrote it, could not have compoſed the ſonnets to Bothwell †.

While Queen Mary, at this early age, figured with all thoſe graces and accompliſhments for which ſhe was then, and continued afterwards to be ſo much celebrated, her attention, was directed with a ſtill ſtronger bent to matters of ſtate; and to her own concerns in the kingdom of Scotland. Nature formed

* She had been married to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. King of France, on April 14. 1558. He died December 4. 1560, without iſſue.

† The reader will find the Elegy upon Francis, in Number I. Appendix II. of this work. Brantome, who has handed it down, obſerves, that it nowiſe reſembles the groſs and unpoliſhed ſonnets to Bothwell. Ronſard and I, (ſays he) read theſe ſonnets together; and he was of my opinion. With regard to the Elegy, he remarks, "that it "is full of ſorrow; and that the grief of the Queen was "rendered ſtill more manifeſt, by a paleneſs of complexion "which it occaſioned. Never after ſhe was a widow, du-"ring all the time I had the honour to ſee her, in France "and in Scotland, was her complexion reſtored."

BOOK I.

her for government. She was majeſtic, wiſe, generous and affable. Sincerity and uprightneſs were alſo among the number of her virtues; and any occaſional deviations from them in the courſe of her life, may probably with juſtice be aſcribed to thoſe ſlippery political principles which have characterized the councils of France, inſtilled into her, not only at a period, when ſhe could hardly think for herſelf, but inculcated by the authority of her uncles *, to whom ſhe could not but liſten with great deference.

The leſſons of the Court of France, the moſt intriguing on earth, and of the Houſe of Lorrain, the moſt intriguing perhaps that ever was in France, could not fail to make an impreſſion upon a young mind, however otherwiſe diſpoſed by nature. At the age of fifteen, after ſolemnly ratifying the independence of Scotland, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Houſe of Hamilton, Queen Mary, privately ſubſcribed three deeds, conferring her kingdom in free gift upon France, failing heirs of her own; and declared, all promiſes made by her to the contrary, to be void, as having been extorted by the neceſſity of her ſituation †. While this perfidious and diſhonourable conduct, we can have no doubt, was dictated by the cabinet of France, and the Princes

* The Duke of Guiſe, the Cardinals of Lorrain and Guiſe, the Duke d'Aumale, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior of France.

† Keith, 73.

Princes of Lorrain, it is to be ſuppoſed, that the young Queen, their diſciple, was taught to conſider ſuch practices as theſe, to be juſtifiable upon maxims of policy.

Soon afterwards, Queen Mary had, of herſelf, to decide upon affairs, which required not only great judgment but addreſs. An ambaſſador from the Roman Catholics in Scotland, a party to which ſhe was moſt ſtedfaſtly attached, having been ſent to invite her return thither, repreſented the ambition of the Lord James Stuart her natural brother, the danger that he threatened to their religion, and the views which he even had upon her crown *. That his repreſentation was well founded, ſhe had little reaſon to doubt, from other evidences produced before that period †. No conſiderations whatever, were more calculated to fill the Queen with alarm and reſentment, but ſhe was obliged to give way to the

* April 14. 1561, Leſly *apud* Jebb. 227.

† Theſe were no news to Queen Mary. Her mother about a twelvemonth before this, had ſent a diſpatch from Scotland to Henry II. of France, relating that the Lord James, under pretext of the reformed religion, would uſurp the Crown. Melvil, 49. 50. Soon afterwards, Francis II. and Queen Mary found it neceſſary, to write letters to this Lord, reproaching him warmly with diſobedience, deceit, raiſing tumults, and taking the royal authority entirely away from them. Spotſwood, 130. Throkmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, at this time in France, relates, that it was reſolved to take meaſures of the greateſt extremity againſt the Lord James, as no obedience could be rendered to the Queen while he remained in Scotland; that he was informed

BOOK I. the neceſſities of her ſituation, and to the current of the times. The great reputation and influence of her brother, the ſtrength of the Proteſtants in Scotland, and the decline of her own intereſt in France, made her lay aſide all ſentiments of indignation and even of diſguſt. Moderation and impartiality were highly proper to be maintained by the Sovereign, between ſo many factions and individuals, exaſperated againſt each other; and this young Princeſs had the wiſdom to ſtudy the good will, and to court the good offices of the different contending parties. It was expedient, that ſhe ſhould now return home; and nothing was more deſirable than that the minds of all her ſubjects ſhould be prepared to give her that loyal and cordial reception, without which neither the reigns nor the lives of Princes can be truly happy.

On the very day therefore, after this ambaſſador had his audience, ſhe graciouſly received the Lord James, upon the part of the Proteſtants. He had by this time been made acquainted,

informed there was a party to raiſe him to the Crown, and that he himſelf by all ſecret means aſpired to it. Forbes, 152. 180. There ſeems to be no doubt, that he was believed in France, that he was not only at the head of all ſeditions, but was aiming at the Sovereignty. With regard to the many and great obſtructions, which lay in the way of ſo daring a project, it is difficult to pronounce what obſtructions are ſufficient to repreſs the ambition of dark and deſigning men. The tenor of this perſon's after conduct, as will appear in the ſequel, gives the ſtrongeſt countenance to the ſuſpicions which at this period were conceived againſt him.

acquainted, that the Queen was fully determined upon ſetting out for Scotland; but diſſembling his knowledge of this circumſtance, he with many arguments, preſſed her return *. She patiently heard him make profeſſions of his fidelity †; promiſed him, at his requeſt, an earldom; and although ſhe had been adviſed to put him into cuſtody, he ſoon took his unreſtrained departure for Scotland, with aſſurances that he was to pave the way for her peaceful dominion in that country.

While Queen Mary was thus taking ſuch mild and prudent meaſures, her breaſt was labouring under very ſenſible diſtreſs. Whereever ſhe turned her eyes, the proſpect gloomed. Fallen, by the death of the King her huſband, from the ſummit of grandeur in that country, where ſhe had been almoſt adored; driven from Court by the envy and antipathy of the Queen Mother; forſaken by that gay train, who, frivolous and unſteady as they are, often furniſh the enjoyment of Princes; Even France itſelf, from which ſhe could not at laſt part, but with ſighs and exclamations of love, was become a ſcene of mortification and

* Spotſwood, 151.

† That ſhe really diſtruſted him notwithſtanding, is evident from what Throkmorton ſays, that at firſt ſhe had thought of putting the government of Scotland into his hands till her return; but now changed her mind, from finding him devoted to Queen Elizabeth. Upon which Throkmorton adviſed his miſtreſs to reward him, as one who might afterwards ſtand her in no ſmall ſtead. Keith, 163, 164.

BOOK I. and affront. When ſhe looked to Scotland, the people were poor and rude; the nobles and factions, violent, rancorous and implacable, ever ready to take the field in arms; her brother whom ſhe was endeavouring to gain by gentleneſs and favours, the moſt dangerous of her foes; and the Proteſtant intereſt, not only in public oppoſition to thoſe religious tenets, which ſhe had deeply and fatally eſpouſed, but puſhed to the utmoſt by Queen Elizabeth, to whom, from the fame of ſuperior beauty and virtues, ſhe had already become an object of jealouſy, envy and hatred. All theſe circumſtances combining together, furniſhed, at this time, a forlorn ſubject for Queen Mary's private thoughts. A fever ſoon enſuing, betrayed the conflict of her mind, which, the whole amuſements of the Court of France, to which ſhe had by this time returned, and even after her health was reſtored, could not quiet nor aſſuage *.

Still ſhe was born up by a ſpirit ſufficient to meet her fortunes; and qualified by an admirable addreſs, eloquence, and dignity, to combat with her adverſaries. Of this, her conferences with Throkmorton, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Court of France, upon being denied a ſafe-conduct home by his miſtreſs, are full proofs.

The occaſion which gave riſe to theſe, was the ratification of a treaty entered into at Edinburgh, about a twelvemonth prior to this period.

* Leſly *apud* Jebb, 229.

period. That treaty, among other articles, gave an aſcendancy to the reformed religion over the Catholic, or rather prohibited the latter; declared that the Engliſh Crown belonged of right to Queen Elizabeth; and obliged the Queen of Scots to renounce for ever the title and the arms of England *. Queen Mary having never ratified the treaty, although ſhe had been ſolicited ſeveral times to do ſo, Throkmorton was at laſt appointed, in a ſtill more earneſt manner, to urge her to confirm it, before ſhe left France.

As this affair was the ſource of the firſt open rupture between the two Queens, and continued long to be the ground upon which their after intrigues and animoſities reſted, it is of moment, not only on this account, to ſtate what paſſed in the converſations between the Scottiſh Queen and Throkmorton, but more eſpecially, becauſe the diſcourſes which ſhe

* Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. of England, by Anne Boleyn, had been declared illegitimate, both by her father and by the Pope; although her father afterwards made it lawful for her to ſucceed to the Crown. Upon the actual ſucceſſion of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, the Queen of Scots, who was grand-daughter to the eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. married to James IV. of Scotland, by the advice of her friends in France, had taken, as neareſt to the Engliſh Crown by legitimate deſcent, the title and arms of Queen of England. The Queen of Scots indeed, after the death of her huſband, Francis II. refrained from uſing the title and arms of England, and declared ſhe was to do ſo during Elizabeth's life; but had ſhe ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, ſhe would have cut herſelf off from the Engliſh ſucceſſion, even after Elizabeth's death, whether that Princeſs ſhould die, with or without iſſue.

BOOK I. ſhe held upon this occaſion, give us a more particular view of her demeanour, her temper, her religious ſentiments, and her natural powers, as well as of her ſpirit and dignity, than any others which have been committed to writing, except thoſe at her trial upon Babington's conſpiracy. Upon this account, in place of extracting the ſubſtance only of theſe diſcourſes, it may be better to lay almoſt the whole of what ſhe ſaid before the reader; and to bring Queen Mary herſelf into the page of hiſtory, ſpeaking in perſon, and in her own words *.

Throkmorton having communicated the congratulations of his miſtreſs, upon the recovery of the Queen of Scots from her late illneſs, proceeded to renew the demand which he had formerly made of the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh †. Upon which, the Queen replied,—" Mr Ambaſſador, I thank the Queen my good ſiſter, for her courteous meſſage and congratulation upon my recovery;

* The only freedom I have taken, has been to adapt the ſpelling of the words to the preſent orthography; and in place of ſome obſolete and antiquated phraſes, to ſubſtitute thoſe that are now more generally uſed; eſpecially as Throkmorton gives only an Engliſh tranſlation of what the Queen ſpoke in French. It may farther be obſerved, that Throkmorton would add no embelliſhment to theſe ſpeeches. On the contrary, we may believe, that however upright and reſpectable this ſtateſman was, he would ſet off Queen Mary's conferences to as little advantage as poſſible, in his diſpatches to the Engliſh Queen. His copy muſt be below the merit of the original.

† June 18. 1561. Keith, 165.

very; and although I am not yet in perfect health, I thank God I feel myſelf coming faſt to it. And for anſwer to your demand of the ratification, I would wiſh the Queen my good ſiſter, ſhould think that I only delay my final reſolution in this matter, until ſuch time as I may have the advice of the Nobles and Eſtates of my own realm, which I truſt ſhall not be long a-doing, for I intend to go thither in a ſhort time. Although this matter affects me principally, it alſo affects them; and therefore it is meet, that I receive their advice. Heretofore, they have ſeemed to be grieved, that I ſhould do any thing without them; and now they would be more offended, if I ſhould proceed in this matter, of myſelf, without their advice. I intend to diſpatch M. D'Oyſel to the Queen your miſtreſs, who ſhall declare to her from me, what I truſt will ſatisfy her; and by whom I will inform her of my journey to Scotland. I mean to embark at Calais. The King has lent me certain galleys and ſhips to convey me home; and I intend to require of my good ſiſter, thoſe favours which Princes are wont to do to one another, in ſuch caſes. Although the terms on which we have ſtood hitherto, have been ſomewhat hard, I truſt that for the future, we ſhall agree together, as couſins and good neighbours. I mean to withdraw all the French from Scotland, who have been the cauſe of jealouſy to the Queen my ſiſter, and of diſcontent to my ſubjects; ſo that I will leave

BOOK I. leave nothing undone to ſatisfy all parties; truſting the Queen, my good ſiſter, will do the like; and that henceforth, none of my diſobedient ſubjects, ſhall find aid or ſupport at her hands."

Upon Throkmorton's replying, that there was little reaſon for a delay of the ratification till the advice of the Nobles ſhould be gotten, as the treaty, was made by their conſent,— "Yea, by ſome of them, (anſwered the Queen), but not by all. It will appear, when I come among them, whether they are of the ſame mind, that you ſay they were then of. I truſt the Queen your miſtreſs, will not ſupport nor encourage any of my ſubjects to continue in their diſobedience, nor to take upon them things which do not belong to ſubjects. You know there is much ado in my realm about matters of religion; and although there are a greater number of the contrary religion to me than I wiſh there were, yet there is no reaſon that ſubjects ſhould give a law to their Sovereign, eſpecially in matters of religion, which I fear my ſubjects will attempt. God commanded ſubjects to be obedient to their Princes, and Princes to read his law, and by it to govern themſelves and the people committed to their charge." Upon which, Throkmorton obſerving, that ſubjects were to be obedient to their Princes, only in thoſe things, which were not againſt the commandments of God.—"Well, (ſaid the Queen), I will be plain with you; the religion which I profeſs,

I hold to be moſt acceptable to God; and indeed neither do I know, nor deſire to know any other. Conſtancy becomes all men well, but none more than Princes and ſuch as have rule over kingdoms, eſpecially in matters of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who would credit me in any thing, if I ſhould ſhew myſelf light in this caſe? Although I am young, and do not pretend to much learning, yet have I heard this matter diſputed upon, between my uncle the Cardinal, and ſome who thought they were converſant in the ſubject; and I found no great reaſon to change my opinion. You may perceive that I am none of thoſe who will change their religion every year: And as I told you at the beginning, that I mean to conſtrain none of my ſubjects, but would ſtill wiſh they were all as I am, ſo I truſt, they ſhall have no ſupport to conſtrain me."

Soon after this audience, D'Oyſel having returned from the Court of England, informed Queen Mary, that a ſafe-conduct was not to be granted her, becauſe ſhe had refuſed to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh *. Queen Elizabeth was anxious about the ratification of this treaty, not only on purpoſe to eſtabliſh the more firmly the Proteſtant religion in Scotland, which would be of great ſervice to her political views in that quarter, but what weighed much more with her, and which was very unblameable in her to wiſh, it would eſtabliſh

* Camden, 64. Keith, 171.

BOOK I. ſtabliſh her own very title to the Crown of England, which was queſtioned by all Catholics both at home and abroad. In refuſing a ſafe-conduct, however, ſhe not only ſhewed a ſpirit extremely indecent and ſpiteful, but much more was to be inferred from this denial; and which Queen Mary was at no loſs to underſtand.

On the ſame day * that D'Oyſel returned, Throkmorton having waited upon the Queen of Scots in the afternoon, ſhe ſat down, (ſays he,) and made me alſo ſit down by her: Commanding then, all others who were preſent, to retire, ſhe ſpoke as follows:—"Mr Ambaſſador, I know not well my own frailty, nor how far my temper may tranſport me; but I like not to have ſo many witneſſes of my paſſions, as the Queen your miſtreſs chuſed to have, when ſhe talked with M. D'Oyſel. † There is nothing that more grieves me, than that I ſo forgot myſelf, as to require of the Queen your miſtreſs, that favour which I had no need to aſk. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than ſhe does me of any of her's. I may go well enough home to my own realm, I think, without her paſſport or licence; for though the late King (Edward) your maſter, endeavoured

* July 20. 1561.

† It is remarked by the Engliſh hiſtorians ſays Biſhop Keith, that Queen Elizabeth chuſed to deny our Queen's ſuit to her by D'Oyſel, in the preſence of a numerous attendance; which is not reckoned to be very decent.

voured all he could both to ſtop me, (from going to France), and to ſeize me, when I came hither, yet you know, I came ſafely, and may have as good means to help me home again, if I would employ my friends. In truth, I was ſo far from meaning ill to the Queen your miſtreſs, that at this time, I was more willing to employ her friendſhip in my behalf, than all the friends I have; and yet you know, both in this realm and elſewhere, I have both friends and allies, who would be glad and willing to employ both their forces and aid to ſerve me." BOOK I.

"You have, Mr Ambaſſador, often told me, that the friendſhip between your miſtreſs and me, was very neceſſary and profitable for us both: I have ſome reaſon now to think, that the Queen your miſtreſs is not of that mind; for I am ſure, if ſhe were, ſhe would not have refuſed me ſo unkindly. It ſeems ſhe makes more account of the friendſhip of my diſobedient ſubjects, than ſhe does of me their ſovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wiſdom and experience; her neareſt relation and her next neighbour. And think you, that there can be ſo good meaning between my ſubjects and her, who have forgotten their principal duty to me their ſovereign, as there ſhould be between her and me? I perceive that the Queen your miſtreſs thinks, that becauſe my ſubjects have done me wrong, my friends and allies will alſo forſake me. Indeed your miſtreſs gives me cauſe to

BOOK I. ſeek friendſhip, where I did not intend to aſk it: But let her conſider, that it will be thought very ſtrange among all princes and countries, firſt to animate my ſubjects againſt me, and now being a widow, to obſtruct my return to my own country! I aſk her nothing but friendſhip; I do not trouble her ſtate, nor practiſe with her ſubjects; and yet I know there are perſons in her kingdom who are inclined enough to hear offers. I know alſo, that they are not of the mind ſhe is of, either in religion or other things. The Queen your miſtreſs ſays I am young and want experience; but I have age enough and experience to conduct myſelf to my friends and relations, friendly and uprightly; and I truſt my diſcretion ſhall not ſo fail me, that reſentment ſhall move me to uſe other language concerning her, than becomes a Queen and my neareſt kinſwoman. Mr. Ambaſſador, I could tell you, that I am, as ſhe is, a Queen; with friends and allies as is known; and I tell you alſo, that my heart is not inferior to her's.—But I will not contend in compariſons."

"Firſt, you know that the agreement was made in the late King, my Lord and huſband's time; by whom, as it was proper, I was commanded and governed; and as to the delays of the ratification which then took place, I am not to be charged. Since his death, my intereſt failing in France, I ceaſed to be adviſed by the Council of France, and have been left to myſelf. Indeed, my uncles

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as you know, being bound by duty to the affairs of this kingdom, do not think it becoming, to adviſe me in mine; neither do my ſubjects, nor the Queen your miſtreſs, think it becoming that I ſhould be adviſed by them, but rather by the Council of my own kingdom. Here are none of them; and none whom it is thought proper I ſhould be counſelled by. The matter is great; it affects both them and me; and it were fit to have the advice of the wiſeſt of them. I do not think it right, in ſo great a matter, to take the counſel of private and inexperienced perſons, and of ſuch as the Queen your miſtreſs knows to be moſt acceptable to thoſe of my ſubjects, whom ſhe would wiſh me to be adviſed by. I have often told you, that ſo ſoon as I had proper advice, I would ſend the Queen your miſtreſs, ſuch an anſwer as ſhould be reaſonable. I am about to haſten home as faſt as I can for this purpoſe; and now, the Queen your miſtreſs, will in nowiſe ſuffer either me to go home, or him, (D'Oyſel) whom I ſent; ſo that it ſeems, your miſtreſs will be the cauſe, why in this manner, ſhe is not ſatisfied; or elſe, ſhe does not chuſe to be ſatisfied; and is deſirous to make this ſtill a matter of quarrel between us, of which ſhe is the author."

"The Queen your miſtreſs, ſays I am young. She might as well ſay, I am as fooliſh as young, if I would proceed in ſuch a matter, of myſelf, without any counſel. What was done by the King, my late lord and

BOOK I.

huſband, muſt not be taken to be my act. Neither in honour, nor in conſcience, am I bound, as you ſay I am, to perform all that I was by him commanded to do *. And yet I will ſay truly to you, and as I hope for the favour of God, I never meant otherwiſe towards her, than becomes me, to my good ſiſter and couſin; nor meant her more harm, than to myſelf. God forgive them who have otherwiſe perſuaded her, if there be any ſuch."

"What is it, pray you Mr Ambaſſador, that offends the Queen your miſtreſs ſo, as to make her thus ill affected to me? I never did her wrong, neither in deed nor in word. It ſhould the leſs grieve me, if I had deſerved otherwiſe than well; and though the world may be of different judgments with reſpect to us, and to our conduct one towards another, I well know, God, who is in heaven, can, and will be a true judge, both of our deeds and intentions."

Throkmorton making no reply to this, but that he waited her anſwer with reſpect to the ratification of the treaty, the Queen did not ſuffer the ſubject to drop.—"I have before this ſhewn you, (ſaid ſhe), and now tell you again, that it is not proper to proceed in this matter,

* By the terms of the treaty, the French Abmaſſadors had, in the names of Francis and Mary, agreed to refrain for ever from uſing the titles, or bearing the arms of England. The Queen contends here, that as this was not her act, ſhe was not bound to ratify the treaty.

matter, without the advice of the Nobles and Eſtates of my own kingdom, which I can by no means have till I come among them.—I pray you then, Mr Ambaſſador, tell me whence proceeds this ſtrange diſpoſition in the Queen your miſtreſs towards me? I deſire to know it, that I may reform myſelf, if I have failed."

The Ambaſſador being ſo cloſely preſſed, as the Queen had with much energy, now a ſecond time, urged the queſtion upon him, found it neceſſary to be at laſt explicit. The ratification of the treaty in general, was all that hitherto had been demanded; but this was at bottom with a view only to thoſe particular points in it, which regarded the right to the Crown of England. It was exceedingly delicate, and even dangerous, for Queen Elizabeth to ſingle out theſe; not only from her own right being denied by the Catholics, but if ſhe ſhould attempt to ſet aſide the title of Queen Mary to be her ſucceſſor, or, in other words, inſiſt upon that article in the treaty which prohibited her for ever from the title and arms of England, even the Proteſtants would not have conſented to ſo unjuſt and turbulent a meaſure. Throkmorton therefore got no inſtructions upon this point, profeſſedly in the name of his miſtreſs; but it appears, that he was directed, as a private man, to ſpeak upon it, if he ſaw needful. This was an uſual artifice of Queen Elizabeth's, on purpoſe to conceal her own hand, in operations which ſhe

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durſt not avow, or thought improper openly to countenance.

Upon this occaſion, therefore, Throkmorton, after declaring, that he had no authority from his court, replied, that he would take the liberty, in his own private name, to aſſign as a reaſon for his miſtreſs's conduct, that ſo ſoon as ſhe had come to the Crown of England, Queen Mary had born the arms of that kingdom, and openly taken the title of the Queen his miſtreſs. To this the Queen anſwered,—"I was then under the command of King Henry my father-in-law, and of the King my lord and huſband; and whatever was then done by their order, was continued till both their deaths; ſince which time, you know, I neither bore the arms nor took the title of England. I ſhould think this conduct might prove to the Queen your miſtreſs, that what was done before, was by the command of thoſe who had power over me; and alſo, in reaſon, ought ſhe to be ſatisfied, ſeeing I act now as I tell you. It were no great diſhonour to the Queen my couſin, though I, a Queen alſo, bore the arms of England; for I am ſure, ſome inferior to me, and who are not every way ſo well related as I am, bear the arms of England. You cannot deny that my grandmother was the King her father's ſiſter, and the eldeſt he had. I aſſure you, and ſpeak to you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought any thing againſt the Queen my couſin. Indeed I know what I am; and would be loath, either to do others

others wrong, or ſuffer too much wrong to be done to myſelf. Now that I have told you my mind plainly, I pray, behave yourſelf between us like a good miniſter; whoſe part is, to make things between princes rather better than worſe."

Such were the diſcourſes held at this time to an experienced and a ſage Ambaſſador, by a young woman of eighteen. The majeſty which ſhe maintained, the great and undiſguiſed ſpirit which ſhe breathed, the boldneſs ſhe diſcovered in openly reproaching the diſhonourable conduct of Queen Elizabeth, joined with the calmneſs, reſpectfulneſs, propriety of expreſſion, acuteneſs and dexterity in argument, which reign throughout, excite our admiration; and juſtly have merited thoſe praiſes which have been beſtowed by hiſtorians. Undoubtedly, all the while, the reaſon which ſhe gave for a delay, was only a pretext. She could be under no real fear, upon her return to Scotland, about ſatisfying her Nobles and Eſtates there, with reſpect to the impropriety and folly of confirming the whole treaty of Edinburgh. Elizabeth alſo had been ſenſible of this; and therefore, in order to frighten her into a compliance, by the refuſal of a ſafe-conduct, ſhe repeatedly preſſed the ratification, before the Queen left France.

One thing farther with reſpect to theſe conferences may be added, that although few of her diſcourſes, ſubſequent to this period,

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have been preſerved at ſuch length *, we may conceive, from what has already appeared, how this Princeſs would both ſpeak and act, in the future ſcenes of her life. It is the hiſtory of the ſame Queen Mary, who thus expoſtulated with Throkmorton, that we are ſtill going to purſue; and the ample account given here of this tranſaction, will render it but ſeldom neceſſary to be ſo minute, with reſpect to her conduct in many other occurrences, in the ſequel of this work.

There was no perſon who could not well but ſee, taking all circumſtances together, that under the refuſal of a ſafe-conduct, was couched a deſign to intercept Queen Mary in her voyage to Scotland. This ſeems to have been the opinion of the times. Camden, who wrote from authorities, although he ſeldom quotes them, aſſerts, that the Lord James, in his return through England, privately adviſed Queen Elizabeth, for her own ſecurity and the intereſt of religion, to ſeize Queen Mary in her way home †. Maitland of Lethington, a man cloſely linked with the Lord James, of great influence in Scotland, and perhaps among the moſt artful, able and accompliſhed which

* The reader will find this defect compenſated in Queen Mary's letters, Appendix ſecond of this work; which not only throw light upon the particular features of her character, but do ſtill more credit to her talents and virtues than the diſcourſes ſhe held at this time to the Engliſh Ambaſſador.

† Camden, 67.

which that or any age has produced, recommended alſo, ſays Camden, the ſame ſtep *; and this is ſtrongly ſupported by Lethington's own words †. There is no doubt that Elizabeth ſent a large ſquadron of ſhips at this time to ſea ‡; and what the buſineſs they were to do, was even plainly alluded to, ſome time afterward, by the Lord Keeper Bacon, in a ſpeech he delivered in the Privy-council of England §. We would, upon principles of charity, allow as little weight as poſſible to theſe authorities; but the after conduct of Queen Elizabeth, and of the Lord James, leads us to believe, that they were fully capable of forming ſuch a deſign.

Mary ſaw this matter in the ſame light; and was already figuring to her imagination, the diſmal conſequences of a captivity in England. No eſcape, ſhe apprehended, could be made thence: No mercy would be ſhewn to her there. She determined, notwithſtanding, to put her all to venture; and committed herſelf, with a religious reſignation, to her fate. "I truſt, (ſaid ſhe to Throkmorton ‖,) that the wind will be ſo favourable, that I ſhall not need to touch upon the coaſt of England. If I do, then the Queen your miſtreſs will have me in her hands; and if ſhe be ſo hard-hearted as to deſire my end, ſhe may do according to her pleaſure, and make a ſacrifice of me. Perhaps

* Camden, 67.
† Keith, App. 92.
‡ Keith, 178.
§ Goodall, I. 175.
‖ Keith, 176.

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What would have happened, upon the event of Queen Mary's capture by the Engliſh fleet, cannot, with any certainty, be pronounced. It is poſſible, that negotiations would have enſued about the treaty of Edinburgh, the Lord James Stuart, in the mean time, being appointed Regent of Scotland; and when that ſcene would have ended, it is much more eaſy to gueſs than to affirm. The weather, however, befriended the voyage; a favourable gale ſpeeding her courſe, and a thick fog afterward, concealing her two galleys from the Engliſh fleet, ſhe landed ſafely at the port of Leith *, in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of her kingdom.

After her arrival in Scotland, Queen Mary, with great wiſdom and benignity, made it her ſtudy to be popular; to gratify the Proteſtants; to gain her brother; and to court the friendſhip of the Engliſh Queen. No views of policy could be ſounder; and no perſon could have acted up to them with more diſcretion. The Roman Catholic courtiers ſhe removed to a diſtance from the throne; and to conciliate their adverſaries, ſeveral of that favourite perſuaſion were even impriſoned. To the violence of the Proteſtants, ſhe oppoſed mildneſs, and moderation, and edicts, in their favour. The Lord James Stuart, reſpectable by

* Auguſt 19. 1561.

by his talents, and popular by his profeſſions of zeal for the doctrines of the Reformed, ſhe held forth as her favourite to the nation; and even when the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Pope attempted to ſeparate from her Councils, this man, whom, it is ſo probable, ſhe always ſuſpected *, ſuch was her better judgment, ſo great, it ſhould ſeem, were ſtill her hopes of winning him from Elizabeth, that they could not, at that time, ſhake her connection with him †. With the Engliſh Queen, notwithſtanding great reaſon for diſguſts, ſhe was perfectly ſincere in the wiſhes ſhe ardently expreſſed for her friendſhip; and this diſpoſition continued with few and tranſient interruptions, during her whole life.

So far had Queen Mary acted upon the beſt maxims of prudence, and from the beſt dictates of a complying diſpoſition, when events were faſt approaching, which diſturbed at laſt the balance of her mind; brought forth her indignation againſt the Engliſh Queen; her ſuſpicions againſt her brother; and her rooted partiality for the Catholic faith.

The Proteſtant doctrines were quickly reaching a general eſtabliſhment in the nation. Another

* In a private converſation with Melvil at this time, the Queen clearly intimated her diſlike at the Lord James. Melvil, 106. Knox ſays ſhe hated him, but could not have been ſerved without him. Knox, 311. Indeed, to have confided in this perſon would have argued ſuch a degree of weakneſs and want of penetration, as is altogether irreconcilable with her character.

† Buchanan, xvii. 33.

BOOK I. ther event, but of a very different nature, was drawing nigh. Queen Mary, after ſeveral years of widowhood, was about to re-enter into the ſtate of marriage. Her conduct as to both of theſe matters, or rather with reſpect to the latter of them, which probably would involve the former, was moſt eagerly watched after by all her adverſaries. Her deciſion as to a huſband, was either to place her beyond their reach, or to overwhelm herſelf.

To be prepared for the courſe which this Princeſs would hold, and to figure the extremes into which ſhe might poſſibly run, we may previouſly take, from the facts in her hiſtory, a view of the paſſions which prevailed moſt in her mind.

Of all theſe, the earlieſt, the lateſt, and the ſtrongeſt, was the paſſion for power. In this, was ſhe always abſorbed. At all times, ſhe viewed herſelf as a Sovereign; and not only as the Queen of Scotland, but about in her own perſon, or in that of her offspring, to ſit on the throne of England, and ſtretch forth a ſceptre over the whole Britiſh iſles. The royal authority in her own kingdom, ſhe would divide with no party, no miniſter, no huſband. As to her views upon England, ſhe reſolved to ſacrifice her antipathy againſt Queen Elizabeth, and all her partizans in both kingdoms. At the very ſame time, ſo ſtrong was that antipathy, ſo much was ſhe bent upon the Engliſh ſucceſſion, that her ſenſibilities as to both, were often at the point of burſting out.

Theſe

Theſe were permanent cauſes of vigilance and of anxiety; excited diſtreſs on every adverſe event; inflamed a mind that was naturally ardent; elevated a ſpirit which was ſingularly high; whetted addreſs, ſtimulated intrigue, and fatally precipitated her, more than once, beyond the accuſtomed equable and prudent tenor of her conduct.

The Roman Catholic religion held the ſecond place in Queen Mary's breaſt; for next to royal prerogatives, ſhe was attached to nothing more than to the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome. Neither the mildneſs ſhe ſhewed to the Proteſtants, nor the ſignal favours ſhe often beſtowed upon them, nor the checks ſhe gave to the Catholics, were certain proofs, that her zeal was abated for her own favourite faith. The almoſt total ſuppreſſion of the maſs, and the royal proclamations in favour of the oppoſite religion, were in ſome degree but temporary meaſures; to continue only till the Queen, with the advice of her Parliament, ſhould come to ſome final reſolution upon thoſe ſubjects *. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that ſhe could repreſs her ardour upon the topic of religion; and which, at times, broke forth, in a manner very unſuited to her uſual moderation and dignity. When John Knox repeated to her in private, what he had ſaid againſt Popery from the pulpit, ſhe gave way to indignation, and burſt into tears: A demeanour nearly as

* Auguſt 1561. May 1562. Keith, 505. 510.

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The diſpoſal of her hand in marriage, was naturally another point in which ſhe was highly intereſted; yet, if we ſpeak comparatively, ſhe was more indifferent upon this, than upon the former two. Her own deſire was to marry a foreign Prince, and, above all, the Heir of Spain †. Her determination, however, from the firſt moment, was to make her wiſhes bend to other conſiderations: To render her deciſion upon this point, as far as poſſible, agreeable to Queen Elizabeth, to the Engliſh nation, and to the Proteſtants in both kingdoms. Hardly any choice ſhe could make, would at once accord with her own inclinations and ſatisfy the Engliſh Queen; and from foreſeeing this, ſhe appears to have prepared for marriage, as a meaſure of ſtate. Her ſituation in this reſpect was hard; for beſides giving up one very material concern, ſhe might fail of ſucceſs in others, to which ſhe meant that ſurrender to be ſubſervient.

Theſe being leading features in the mind of Queen Mary, we need not wonder, that the numerous, and ſeveral of them very ſplendid propoſals for foreign matches, all failed of effect, on account of the prejudice which ſhe found they would raiſe againſt her views upon the Engliſh Crown.

Elizabeth, who did not fail to magnify theſe obſtructions which were in the way, having hence

* Knox, 331, &c. † Caſtelnau, 461.

hence narrowed the field, and reduced the Queen of Scots to the addreſſes of ſubjects in place of Sovereigns, pitched upon two ſuitors, whom ſhe ſucceſſively recommended; not that ſhe wiſhed either of them to ſucceed, nor indeed that the Queen ſhould marry at all, but merely for the purpoſe of perplexing her and of ſpending the time. Before pointing them out by name, and in order that Mary might be prepared to fall in with ſuch humiliating overtures, ſhe was aſſured, that if ſhe ſhould marry to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh Queen, her right of inheritance would be enquired into and declared. Every ſtep, beſides, was to be taken which could tend to her advantage *.

At length the Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards created Earl of Leiceſter, and who was Queen Elizabeth's own favourite, was announced as a fit huſband for the Scottiſh Sovereign; and the offer was repeated, that if ſhe ſhould accede to this propoſal, her right to the throne of England would be eſtabliſhed †. While Queen Mary diſcovered compoſure upon this occaſion, ſhe did not altogether repreſs her ſcorn, nor curb the loftineſs of that ſpirit for which ſhe was diſtinguiſhed. "She had heard good accounts (ſhe ſaid) of the gentleman; but as Queen Elizabeth had ſaid, that in propoſing a huſband

* Auguſt 1563. Keith, 243. Camden, 84.

† March 1564. Keith, 251.

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band to her, ſhe would conſult her honour, ſhe aſked, what honour there could be in marrying a ſubject *?" Although this match was not agreeable to the Queen of Scots, it was not however flatly rejected; and the propoſal was ſufficient to employ time in treaty and diſſimulation; all that, probably, Elizabeth ever intended.

Soon, however, it was found neceſſary to bring another huſband under the eye of this Princeſs, leſt her thoughts ſhould return to a foreign alliance. This was the Lord Darnly, of the Houſe of Stuart itſelf; and who beſides, in his own right, was, after Queen Mary, next heir to the Crown of England †. No Scottiſh nor Engliſh ſubject whatever, could meet the views of the Queen of Scots ſo much as Lord Darnly; for a marriage with him was in itſelf, not only an additional ſecurity in the Engliſh inheritance, but if he ſhould marry another, her own right might be endangered.

Elizabeth was as inſincere in this propoſal, as in the former. While ſhe was impelled by the dread of a Continental match, to tender this one from time to time, aware however

* Keith, 252.

† Mary, as has already been mentioned, was granddaughter of the eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. of England, by her firſt marriage with James IV. of Scotland. Darnly was grandſon of the ſame eldeſt ſiſter, by her ſecond marriage with the Earl of Angus.

however of its plauſibility, ſhe appears to have made it a matter of ſtudy and ſyſtem, how to retard its progreſs, and to prevent its being finally carried into effect. The firſt ſteps therefore were of the moſt indirect kind, and at as wide a diſtance as poſſible from the object which ſhe placed in Mary's view. The Earl of Lennox, father of Darnly, had been baniſhed with his family, for many years from Scotland. The ſmalleſt movement in this affair, was to allow the father to return, in order to recover his titles and poſſeſſions in that kingdom; and the Counteſs his wife having adviſed the Queen of Scots to invite him back *, he ſoon obtained from her, that mark of favour †. As the Engliſh Queen, for the reaſons mentioned, was the original deviſer of a marriage with Darnly ‡, there can be little doubt, that the Counteſs of Lennox acted by her direction; eſpecially as her huſband, being a ſubject of England, could not even leave that kingdom without the authority of his Sovereign; but ſo ſoon as the meaſure was ſet a-going, Elizabeth turned her back upon it; and on purpoſe to deter the Queen of Scots from admitting Lennox into her kingdom, ſhe repreſented the dangers that would enſue in Scotland, from the Houſe of Hamilton, the rival of the Houſe of Stuart §.

* Camden, 92. † May 1564, Keith, 252.

‡ Caſtlenau, 462. § June 1564, Keith, 253. Melvil, 83.

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The vivid impreſſion which this made upon Mary, fully argues a duplicity, on the part of Elizabeth. A conduct ſo mutable, ſo faithleſs, and ſo overbearing, excited the greateſt animoſity in her breaſt: She would not be dictated to: With heat and indignation, expreſſed her reſentment; and all correſpondence between the two Queens was, for a conſiderable time, broken off *.

The alarms taken by Elizabeth, that her ſiſter might be driven to more undeſirable connections, appear to have recurred ſo ſtrongly upon her during this interval, that ſhe at laſt wrote a letter, earneſtly recommending the Earl of Lennox and his cauſe to that Queen †. There were many umbrages and quarrels which might follow upon Lennox's return; and Elizabeth probably relied much upon theſe taking place. It was not difficult to foreſee, what kind of reception, a nobleman, who had been baniſhed for twenty years; who was on terms of the greateſt ill will with the Duke of Chatelherault, during whoſe regency he had been expelled; and who was come in queſt of eſtates now in the hands of others, would meet with. After his arrival, it required in fact, all Mary's authority and management, to keep peace among the parties ‡.

But

* Melvil, 84. Camden, 92.

† Sept. 1. 1564. Keith, 255.

‡ Keith, 259.

But before this time, ſhe had begun to be ſenſible of the raſhneſs and impolicy of her conduct, in putting an end to the intercourſe between her and the Engliſh Queen, and of ſo openly reſenting the duplicity and inſolence of that Princeſs. Immediately therefore upon receiving the letter in favour of Lennox, ſhe diſpatched an anſwer, artfully containing repeated aſſurances of her eager deſire to comply with the requeſts made in it, and to ſhew every mark of her favour to that Nobleman, on account of the quarter from which he had been recommended *. And not ſatisfied with this, ſo ſenſible had ſhe been, that the Engliſh ſucceſſion was in danger, ſhe ſent Sir James Melvil in perſon, to put a favourable gloſs upon the angry expreſſions which ſhe had uſed, and ſincerely to court a renewal of good underſtanding and friendſhip †. Nothing could be more gratifying to Elizabeth. She immediately profeſſed to give up what was paſt to oblivion; and declared her readineſs to return into amity with the Queen of Scots. But that Queen was not eaſily to be beguiled. She aſked Melvil if there were any credit to be given to theſe profeſſions: A queſtion, which implied more than doubts upon that head. He anſwered at once, that "there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great diſſimulation, envy and fear ‡."

* Keith, 255. See alſo 268. † Melvil, 84. &c.
‡ Melvil, 104.

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The conſequence of the apologies and ſubmiſſions of the Queen of Scots on this occaſion, was, to put her more than ever under the power of her ſiſter Queen, who coolly called back her attention a ſecond time to the Earl of Leiceſter, but ſtill continued to promiſe a declaration of her right to the Crown of England *. Soon afterward, however, taking farther advantage of what had paſſed, ſhe lowered theſe terms; and at conferences held by commiſſioners appointed on both ſides at Berwick, Queen Mary's right was talked of as a matter of uncertainty: In place of promiſes, hopes only were given, that on the event of marrying Leiceſter, ſhe would be declared the preſumptive heir of the Engliſh Queen †.

But neither this match, nor the terms upon which it was now held forth, promiſed any likelihood of ſucceſs. This ſeems to have been the reaſon why Darnly, for the third time, was brought under the eye of Queen Mary. The father had already been ſent into Scotland: The ſon now obtained the ſame licence, but only, however, for the ſpace of three months; and for the ſole purpoſe of ſharing with his father, in the comfort of being reſtored to the honours and patrimony of their anceſtors in that kingdom.

All this while, Elizabeth intended, by every means, to obſtruct the marriage with Darnly; and

* Nov. 3. 1564, Keith, 259. † Ibid. 266, 267.

and therefore, while he was on the way, but before he was yet arrived in Scotland, ſhe repeated, for the third time, the overture in favour of Leiceſter, and deſired an anſwer from the Queen of Scots *.

Thus, had two huſbands, been ſucceſſively held forth to Queen Mary: The one, whom it could not be ſuppoſed ſhe would accept, but into whoſe ſcale there had been thrown the bait of the Engliſh ſucceſſion: The other, who had in his own perſon, a right to that inheritance next to the Scottiſh Queen herſelf; but whom ſhe was told it would be dangerous to make choice of, as he was a Papiſt, and was reſiſted beſides, by a powerful Houſe in her own kingdom.

Mary had the addreſs to bring the negotiation with reſpect to Leiceſter, ſooner to a criſis than was looked for by her adverſary. She intimated, that ſhe was ready to accept of him; provided her right to the Engliſh monarchy ſhould be declared: The terms which had often been propoſed, when that meaſure had been ſubmitted to her conſideration †. Elizabeth now brought into her own net, and, attacked by weapons which ſhe could no longer parry, was obliged to ſpeak plainly out, and to have the effrontery to reply, that that right would neither be enquired into, nor declared, till ſhe herſelf ſhould be married, or ſhould notify her determination never

* Keith, 269.

† Feb. 5. 1565. Keith, 269. March 4. ibid. App. 158.

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never to marry *: Which was, in other words, to announce, that Queen Mary never would be declared the heir of the Engliſh Crown. This being directly contrary to the promiſes which had formerly been made, filled the breaſt of this abuſed Princeſs with indignation and alarm. She burſt into tears, and reproached, in the bittereſt terms, the perfidious conduct of the Engliſh Queen †.

There is a turn, which the affair of the marriage of Queen Mary now immediately took, which throws light upon her character and ſituation, and alſo affords ſtronger inſtances than any that have yet appeared, of the diſquiet and duplicity of Elizabeth.

Queen Mary's own wiſh, as has already been ſaid, was to marry a foreign Prince, with a view to the advantages of a Continental alliance. However ſhe had been neceſſitated to relinquiſh ſuch a brilliant ſcheme; however ſhe had ſeen the advantage of a marriage with Darnly; however, by this time, ſhe had probably contracted ſome affection for that young Nobleman, ſhe appears, from reſentment and indignation againſt Elizabeth, inſtantly to have turned her eyes back to the Continent, the place upon which they had originally been ſet. Lethington, her ſecretary, was propoſed immediately to be diſpatched to France ‡. The meaſure

* March 5. Keith, App. 158.

† March 5. and 17. Keith, App. 158, 159.

‡ March 17. 1565, Keith, App. 159.

meaſure tranſpired. Alarm was ſpread. Fears were entertained by Chatelherault and Argyle, of a marriage with a Papiſt in Spain, or in ſome other country *. Her brother, now Earl of Murray, related, that the Cardinal of Lorrain was moving a match between Queen Mary and the Duke of Orleans †. The Cardinal deſired, that Lethington ſhould be ſent to France, to conſult upon the ſubject at large ‡.

Nothing could fill Elizabeth with more diſmay than theſe news; although ſhe had been in part prepared for them, by what had fallen from one of the Scottiſh commiſſioners upon the unſucceſsful conference at Berwick, That their Queen would match with ſome Prince or other, within the ſpace of five months ‖. No thorn, ſays Caſtelnau, the French Ambaſſador, could be ſharper to Queen Elizabeth, than a foreign and formidable alliance with the Queen of Scots. It is to this period of alarm and perturbation, which we are now upon, that he appears to refer, when he relates, that the Engliſh Queen tried by all means to bring about the marriage with Darnly; that ſhe enforced it as the ſureſt means of paving the way to the Crown of England; and that ſhe not only gained over Murray, Lethington, and their partizans, to approve of the ſcheme, but with

* Keith, App. 159.
† Ibid. March 27.
‡ Ibid.
‖ Nov. 1564. Keith, 267.

BOOK I. inceſſant ſolicitations, to urge it upon their Royal Miſtreſs *.

In ſuch a ſudden, though perhaps not altogether unlooked for, a revolution, Queen Mary found herſelf probably not far from the ſituation which ſhe really deſired to be in. Tempted by the renewed aſſurances given her, with reſpect to the Engliſh ſucceſſion; influenced alſo by a riſing affection for Darnly, ſhe entered ſo far, ſays Caſtelnau, into a treaty of marriage, that it was hardly in her power to recede. At the ſame time, he relates, that ſhe ſtill declared againſt this match itſelf, unleſs ſhe ſhould obtain the conſent and approbation of the King and Queen of France; and often proteſted to him in private converſation, that her greateſt paſſion was directed to matters of ſtate. With theſe views, he ſent, at her deſire, a diſpatch to the French Court, to learn the ſentiments

* Caſtelnau, 462, 463, 464. Keith, App. 159. March 27. I have here introduced the reſpectable authority of Caſtelnau, a perſon who was better acquainted with the hiſtory of Queen Mary, from firſt to laſt, than perhaps any other whatever. At this particular juncture, he relates, that the Queen communicated every thing to him, and that, at audiences from morning to night. In the learned Works which have been compoſed upon the Hiſtory of Scotland, the writers, naturally occupied with a multiplicity of other national objects, have but ſummarily treated of the negotiations reſpecting Queen Mary's marriage; but as I have propoſed to limit myſelf chiefly to the perſonal Hiſtory of that Queen, it was incumbent upon me, on this, and on other occaſions, to be often more ample and minute; and to trace the whole progreſſive ſteps, windings and turnings, from the beginning till the end.

ſentiments of her friends there, and obtained an anſwer, containing their concurrence; but not ſatisfied with this, ſhe prevailed upon him to go himſelf in perſon to France, a few weeks only, it ſhould ſeem, before the marriage took place, to be aſcertained of the free and full conſent of that Court *.

But matters before this time, had, as uſual, taken a turn in the oppoſite direction, on the part of the adverſaries of the Queen of Scots. So ſoon as it was found, that ſhe had given up the apprehended ſcheme of a foreign match, and had embarked ſo deeply in the marriage-treaty with Darnly, Elizabeth, Murray, and their partizans, as if by concert, almoſt all at once, put on other faces, and reverſed the ſcene. Finding Mary ſo much entangled, that ſhe could hardly draw back, or make any other choice than that of Darnly, Elizabeth attempted to prevent her from going farther on; and now intimated her diſapprobation of that marriage, which ſhe herſelf had not only originally planned, but, in theſe latter ſtages, had forwarded by every means in her power. The whole Council of Elizabeth declared againſt the marriage: Lennox and Darnly were required to return

* Caſtelnau, 464. Keith, App. 161. While he was gone upon this errand, Elizabeth's renewed oppoſition had driven the Scottiſh Queen ſo rapidly on, that by the time he returned, the marriage was over. In place of ſignifying the conſent of the King and Queen of France, he had only to preſent their congratulations. Caſtelnau, 467.

BOOK I. return home to England *: Throkmorton was ordered to ſet out for Scotland, to intimate the diſcontent and grief of his miſtreſs; and as if there were no end to effrontery, he was commiſſioned to ſpeak again of the marriage with Leiceſter †. Murray and his faction, upon theſe ſignals being given, did not fail to change their ground. Nothing ſeems to have been ſo perfidious and black, as to be beyond their attempt. From having been teaſing and unremitting advocates for a marriage with Darnly, they formed ſchemes of aſſaſſination and treaſon; plotted his murder; the impriſonment of the Queen; and the uſurpation of the Crown ‡.

Hiſtory

* 23d April, 1ſt May 1565, Keith, App. 159.

† Keith, App. 159.

‡ That theſe ſchemes were nearly put into execution, (June 1565), is affirmed (in 1568) in one of the moſt amply atteſted papers that has reached us, ſigned by a great number of the Lords and dignified Clergy of Scotland; among whom were ſeveral Noblemen, who had participated themſelves in this very conſpiracy: Goodall, II. 358. Melvil, who was upon the ſpot, ſays, that Darnly was to have been ſent into England, "as they (the conſpirators) alledged," p. 112. His meaning ſeems to be, that they had no ſuch real intention, but propoſed to cut him off. Randolph, the Engliſh Reſident, wrote to Cecil, that there was a plot againſt Darnly and Lennox: Keith, 290. The Queen, from her precipitate flight, ſhewed the full belief ſhe had of her own danger: Keith, 291. But we have to judge from facts, as well as from papers. The whole conduct of Murray, eſpecially the rebellion which he immediately raiſed, puts the matter out of doubt. The ſtory he induſtriouſly circulated at that time, of a plot againſt himſelf by Darnly, ſo contradictorily told,

even

Hiſtory, perhaps, has given no account of a negotiation for marriage, like this, which, for ſeveral years, and with ſo many windings, had been agitated about a match for the Queen of Scots. Long had the arts of intrigue been employed: Powerful had been the temptations of policy which were ſpread forth: Flagrant was the perfidy which reigned throughout. Mary, torn between various and oppoſite motives, Reſentment againſt Elizabeth, Ardent wiſhes for the Engliſh ſucceſſion, Attachment to Darnly, at laſt, gave complete indulgence to the exaſperated feelings which had been pent up in her breaſt. Indignation, burſt out into an open and a burning flame: Tears were wrung from her eyes: Bittereſt reproaches were vented from her lips: She loſt ſight, for a ſeaſon, of the deareſt object of her heart, the Crown of England: Her high mind, abuſed and wounded, flew with blindfold precipitation to the marriage with Darnly *, becauſe Elizabeth oppoſed it: To pique her adverſary, the appearance of an extreme felicity, and of a tranſported love, was aſſumed: Darnly was unconſtitutionally raiſed to the title of King: From a growing ſuſpicion of Murray, ſhe held forth

even by his friends Buchanan and Randolph, and without all proof on his part, ſhews he felt the neceſſity of ſpreading ſomething abroad in his vindication, and becomes a preſumption of his guilt. See Buchanan, 341. Keith, 287. and App. 108. &c.

* The marriage took place July 29. 1565.

BOOK I. forth Rizio, a very inferior character, as her miniſter and his rival: Diſplayed inſtances of ſkill, in conciliating her ſubjects to the marriage, the greateſt in her reign: Illegally raiſed money, and profuſely expended it, to cruſh the rebellion, headed by Murray, which enſued: Took the field in perſon, at the very time that the hearts of women are uſually engroſſed with ſofter cares: And clad with military garlands, ſoon cloſed the ſcene in triumph.

A ſtorm of this kind, it was impoſſible for Queen Elizabeth herſelf, aided by all her partizans, to reſiſt. Popular, eloquent, ſkilful, vigorous, the Queen of Scots eaſily gained the victory. Nor were the diſtreſſes and perplexities of her enemies, yet at an end. Foreign powers had been looking upon this ſcene of iniquity, with eyes full of ſuſpicion againſt the Queen of England; and their Ambaſſadors, not only accuſed her of abetting the troubles in Scotland, but, uſing terms ſtill more poignant, charged her expreſsly, with taking delight in fomenting rebellion in that kingdom *.

At the ſame moment, Murray and the other rebels who had been ſet on by Elizabeth, to whom ſhe had ſupplied money, and had promiſed to hazard her Crown in their defence, if they ſhould be reduced to difficulties in conſequence of reſiſting the marriage

* Melvil, 118.

riage of their Sovereign, were arrived at London, in the moſt helpleſs ſtate; craving refuge, and ſupplicating relief. Elizabeth had thus, at one and the ſame time, before her, the foreign Ambaſſadors, charging her for countenancing rebellion, and the rebels themſelves perſonally; whoſe preſence in her capital, was proof enough that the charge was juſt *.

Had we not, from what has already appeared, been, in no ſmall meaſure, acquainted with the characters of Elizabeth and Murray, we ſhould have been at a loſs to gueſs, how a ſcene of this ſort, would have ended. But long practice rendered what would have been impoſſible to others, eaſy to them; who beſides, ſeem always to have underſtood one another.

Accordingly, having beforehand, in private, aſſured Murray, that ſhe would give him aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of her power, provided he would ſo far comply with her exigencies at that time, as publicly, and with all humiliation, to declare, that ſhe had not encouraged him in his rebellious courſes, He, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, one of his party, came before her; and, in the preſence of the Ambaſſadors of France and Spain, falling down on their knees, declared, that in taking arms againſt the marriage-ſcheme of the Queen their Sovereign, they had never been abetted by Queen Elizabeth. After

* Melvil, 112, 113.

BOOK I.

ter they had ſolemnly atteſted this falſehood, ſhe addreſſed them in words, for which, doubtleſs, they were prepared,—"You have told the truth; neither I nor any in my name have ſtirred you up againſt your Queen; your abominable treaſon might have ſerved for example to my own ſubjects to rebel againſt me. Therefore get you out of my preſence; you are unworthy traitors." Upon this, (ſays Melvil, who furniſhes us with theſe particulars *,) Elizabeth triumphed over the Ambaſſadors; and we learn from another quarter, that after Murray's departure from the Court, ſhe ſupplied him and his friends with money; and wrote in their behalf to the Queen of Scots †.

Thus had Elizabeth attempted, by all means in her power, to prevent the marriage of the Queen of Scots; and, at the ſame time, to deny, that ſhe had thrown any obſtructions whatever, in its way. Diſappointed in her aims, ſhe now lay by, in vexation, unaltered and envenomed: Determined to watch every future motion of the Scottiſh Queen, and to profit by every adverſe event, which the courſe of time ſhould bring to paſs.

THE

* Melvil, 112, 113. † Knox, 389.

THE HISTORY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK II.

The history of Queen Mary, from her marriage with Darnly, till his death.

THE Queen of Scots, in defeating her adverſary, having obtained no inconſiderable part of the object which ſhe had in view, although at the expenſe of wiſdom, in ſeveral of the ſteps which ſhe took, recurred to the ſolid ground upon which ſhe had the judgment to ſtand, during moſt part of her life. She had long combated artifices and curbed indignation; till, at laſt, when the meaſure was full, when negotiation was at an end, and reſentment could no longer be repreſſed, ſhe iſſued openly forth, in perſonal

BOOK II.

ſonal defiance of Elizabeth. But now that the victory was gained, and her ſally had been ſucceſsful, ſhe turned round to the point at which ſhe had ſet out; and with ſincerity and ardour, expreſſed her deſires to live in friendſhip with the Queen of England *.

Had the choice which this Princeſs made of a huſband been fortunate, ſhe was qualified to keep upon good terms, even with her ſiſter Queen: Her reign probably would have been happy; and her name, dear and high in Scotland. But the reverſe having proved to be the caſe, furniſhed the fatal means to her enemies, of bringing her from ſtep to ſtep, and from misfortunes to misfortunes, during a tract of more than twenty years; till, at laſt, her hiſtory cloſed, in the darkeſt cloud of affliction and ruin.

How this train was laid, has already, in general, been pointed out. Queen Mary had not, in reality, a choice in her power. Darnly, was the huſband of fate. There was even no ſufficient opportunity afforded her, of knowing any thing of his character; which, if ſhe had been appriſed of, rather than have married ſuch a perſon, it is more than probable, ſhe would have devoted herſelf to a ſingle life. To his being ſo much a ſtranger to her, there is to be added, that beſides the ſtrong

* Keith, App. 104. Her offers for this purpoſe ſeem to have been made in Auguſt or September 1565; and if ſo, they were ſomewhat prior to Murray's being chaced at laſt out of Scotland, about the middle of October.

ſtrong inducement of his right to the Crown of England, being next to her own, as has already been ſtated, his perſon and external accompliſhments were impoſing, in no ſlight degree. This was an unhappy conjunction of circumſtances: All which, joined to her rage at the perfidy of the Engliſh Queen, drove her cruelly headlong, to make the hazardous venture of giving away her hand, before ſhe could be ſure that the man whom ſhe gave it to, was worthy of her heart.

Her love for Darnly is not extended by hiſtorians, beyond the ſpace of a few months; at the ſame time, it ſeems not a little queſtionable, from the facts in her life, and the features in her character, if this love had ever taken any deep or violent hold of her breaſt. It is indiſputable, that, from political views, ſhe thought of him for a huſband, before ſhe ſaw him. This may have led ſome hiſtorians in thoſe times to give indulgence to fancy, and to ſpeak as if ſhe was wonderfully ſmitten with him, and in love, even at firſt ſight *. Spotſwood, who writes ſoberly, mentions, that after Darnly's being preſented to her, it was not long, till it was perceived that ſhe bore ſome affection to him †. Melvil, to whom we may

* The firſt interview between the Queen and him, was towards the end of Fe bruary 1565. Knox, 368. Darnly was then in his twentieth year: The Queen was turned twenty-two.

† Spotſwood, 188.

BOOK II.

give full credit, plainly hints at ſome exception which ſhe took, even againſt Darnly's outward appearance, when ſhe firſt ſaw him *. This ſeems fully confirmed by what he immediately adds, that upon Darnly's propoſing marriage to the Queen, after he had been ſome time at Court, ſhe at firſt diſreliſhed the match; as that ſame day, (ſays he), ſhe herſelf told me; and refuſed a ring which he then offered to her. Upon which, Melvil relates, that he took the freedom to ſpeak in favour of the propoſal; and to convince the Queen, how unqueſtionably ſuch a marriage would eſtabliſh her title to the Engliſh ſucceſſion †.

While there can be no doubt as to the weight of this laſt argument, it appears alſo, that the Queen, in fact, ſoon began after this time, to conceive an affection for Darnly; and which, although ſmall at firſt, gradually gained ſtrength ‡. His dexterity in graceful

* She ſaid, "He was the propereſt and beſt proportioned *long* man that ever ſhe had ſeen." Melvil, 111. In another place, and before this period, Melvil, giving his own opinion, ſays, Darnly "was handſome, beardleſs and lady-faced." Addreſſing himſelf to Queen Elizabeth, the ſame writer remarked, "that no woman of ſpirit would make choice of ſuch a man, who more reſembled a woman than a man." 94. It is true that Melvil was here confeſſedly endeavouring to blind Elizabeth; at the ſame time, he could not have uſed ſuch pointed language, to ſo diſcerning a Princeſs, unleſs there had been ſome conſiderable foundation for it.

† Melvil, 111.

‡ Ibid.

graceful exerciſes, and his accompliſhment in thoſe arts which ſhow in public and at Courts, helped perhaps to wear out the impreſſion which his firſt appearance had made. Whatever may have been the cauſes of the change, we learn, that about two months after her firſt interview with Darnly, ſhe formally intimated to the Engliſh Queen, her intention to marry him *. At the ſame time, there are no real traces of any extravagant paſſion having taken place. Randolph, the Engliſh Reſident, a man abundantly prying, and naturally ſhrewd, ſaw ſomething, at this period, in the Queen of Scots, that to him appeared irreconcilable with affection: He declared, that he was even void of the ſuſpicion of it; and more than once aſſured his Court, that there would be no marriage †. Not long afterward, he altered his mind ‡; and it has been thought, that he was duped by the Queen: But whether or not, there be ground for this ſurmiſe, Certainly at leaſt, nothing very glaring, nor even remarkable, had ſhewed itſelf in her behaviour, otherwiſe it would not have eſcaped his obſervation. Throkmorton, a man much more to be relied upon, above a month after this, gave it as his opinion, and as truth, that Queen Mary "was captivated, rather by vaunting or folly, than either by love or cunning §."

* Keith, App. 159. † March 20. Keith, 273.

‡ April 15. Keith, App. 159. § Keith, 279. May 21.

BOOK II.

Throkmorton was undoubtedly right, in judging, that the one Queen, to triumph over the other, had ſtudiouſly diſplayed an extreme exultation in the choice ſhe was making of Darnly for a huſband; and in doing ſo, ſhe certainly gave too much way to her reſentments, however ſingularly inflamed. The truth ſeems to be, that her paſſion was partly real, partly aſſumed. Caſtelnau, who knew well the true ſtate of her mind, and who, as has already been quoted, mentions, how much political motives chiefly, were thoſe upon which ſhe acted, takes notice, at the ſame time, that the meaſures ſhe had been purſuing for the marriage, were ſo impetuous, as to induce ſome people to give out, that ſhe was under the power of enchantments *. We may learn her real ſentiments, perhaps with ſome preciſion, from a fact which happened at this ſame period. To ſooth Elizabeth, this Princeſs, alternately moved by reſentments and fears, delayed elevating Darnly to the Dukedom of Albany, notwithſtanding that ſhe had been ſo extremely irritated againſt her: Notwithſtanding that he himſelf, was ſo impatiently and ſanguinely ſet upon this honour, as to threaten Lord Ruthven with death, for merely being the news-bearer of that delay †. From which it can hardly be doubted, that her

* Caſtelnau, 464. † May 21. Keith, 280. App. 160.

her conduct was influenced, by ſtronger conſiderations, than by love for this Nobleman. BOOK II.

It is agreed by all hiſtorians, that, at laſt, the unceaſing and virulent oppoſition of Elizabeth, Murray and their partizans, drove her with precipitation to the marriage-bed. That, immediately after this, ſhe acted with the rapidity and vehemence, which have been already mentioned; three days only after the marriage, reſumed her meaſures of vengeance againſt Murray; in leſs than a month, took the field in perſon; rode with loaded piſtols; purſued him and his faction before her; would hearken to no accommodation; accept of no ſubmiſſion; forced them out of the kingdom; and ſtill followed the blow; Can be aſcribed only to one of two cauſes, Love for Darnly, or Rage againſt her enemies.

Had the former of theſe predominated in her breaſt, we ſhould have looked for a longer reſpite; a ſuſpenſion of war; and all the devices which a love-ſick and fertile mind would have inſpired, to ſooth, and to gain over the adverſaries, both of herſelf, and of her huſband. But no ſymptom of any diſpoſitions of this kind having appeared, proves not only the high ſpirit of the Queen, in thus reſenting the injuries committed, but vindicates her from the ſillineſs which has been imputed to her, of having fallen into exceſſive love with Lord Darnly.

BOOK II.

In the midſt of all the ſcenes which were paſt, and thoſe which followed, it was the Queen, not Darnly, that acted and governed. To her huſband, ſhe gave the title; by no means the power of a King. Suppoſing her love for him, to have been really very great, nothing is clearer, than that it was ſubordinate to her deſire for ruling. This, ſhe would never either reſign or divide. Even before her rupture with Darnly, there is not only that tacit proof of the light in which ſhe was diſpoſed, in this reſpect, to view any huſband whatever, but expreſs inſtances of her utterly diſregarding *him*, in particular. The Duke of Chatelherault, one of the rebels, obtained a ſeparate pardon from her, notwithſtanding that this nominal King violently oppoſed it *. Not long afterward, when the pardon of Murray and his adherents was in agitation, ſhe yielded to Throkmorton's counſels of clemency; although, at the ſolicitation of the Roman Catholic powers on the Continent, ſhe returned ſoon again to maxims of rigour againſt them; and acceded to the treaty of Bayonne, whoſe object was the extermination of the Proteſtant religion: A ſtep the moſt deciſive, and next to her marriage with Darnly, the moſt fatal in her life. But in doing both the one and the other, the King was a cypher. She gave way, at firſt, to conſiderations

* Dec. 1. 1565. Knox, 389.

conſiderations of forgiveneſs, notwithſtanding that he was inflexible: It was to no influence of his over her, that ſhe reverted back to meaſures of hoſtility and revenge.

When the Queen of Scots, immediately after her marriage, triumphed over all her adverſaries, ſhe was in the meridian of her proſperity. Had ſhe been matched with a man of common temper and underſtanding, her own judgment, natural lenity, prudence and ſpirit, might have ſecured what ſhe had attained. But the ſtar of Darnly having riſen, ſhed a mortal influence over both of their days. Two cauſes concurred to produce this: He, not only, could not brook a ſubordinate ſtation, but by his conduct, ſoon fell under her contempt and diſguſt.

No events whatever could be more welcome to her enemies. They had probably, almoſt given up hopes, of even diſturbing her government; but ſo ſoon as they diſcovered the fatal ſtate in which ſhe and her huſband were, with reſpect to one another, they roſe up to views of deſtruction: No moment was loſt; no engine was unemployed, to foment the difference, and to reap the advantages which might enſue.

Domeſtic diſſenſions were frequent, and could not be concealed. The Queen wept over the precipitancy of her marriage. Her huſband, diſappointed and deſpiſed, had recourſe to the amuſements of the field; to

BOOK II. intoxication and riot; to infidelity to the marriage-bed. By her enemies, he was eagerly laid hold of, as an inſtrument of trouble and of cataſtrophe. They made him ſet up pretenſions againſt the Queen; claim the Crown matrimonial; and indulge the giddy hope of not only dividing the powers of ſovereignty, but of getting the ſceptre altogether into his own hands.

The conſpiracy againſt Rizio, brought all this to light. This man appears to have been conſidered by moſt hiſtorians, as a mere minion of Queen Mary's: That is, taken into her favour, from nothing elſe but caprice. Had this been the caſe, he ſurely, could have been no great object of animoſity. But there are circumſtances, which place him in another light. He was confeſſedly, a man of talents, of judgment and of truſt. And beſides, there ſeems little doubt, that he was elevated into the Queen's ſervice, not ſo much on his own account, as to become the rival of Murray; for he was introduced into his ſtation, about the time ſhe was meditating her marriage with Darnly, to which Murray was hoſtile. The fact is, that, as he roſe, Murray fell.

In no incident of Mary's reign, did ſhe at once ſuffer more poignant diſtreſs, breathe a greater ſpirit, or diſplay more management and conduct, than upon the conſpiracy againſt Rizio. The conſpiracy was, in fact, againſt

againſt herſelf; againſt her ſovereignty, her liberty and her life; and all this, in the plenitude of her power. Violated majeſty, was of every inſult, the moſt unpardonable in her eyes; and this violation, was ſhocking and ſavage, in the extreme. Armed men, with ſeveral of the Nobles, and her own huſband at their head, burſt into her apartment at the cloſe of day *; murdered in her preſence, a perſon whom ſhe had ſtudiouſly honoured; loaded herſelf with reproaches; deprived her of liberty; threatened her life: And when the citizens of Edinburgh, upon the alarm being ſpread, crowded to the walls of the palace, anxious for their Sovereign's welfare, ſhe was forbidden to open her lips to them, on pain of being "cut in pieces, and caſt over the walls." Long, long, after this outrage, the very recollection of its barbarity, brought deep ſighs of indignation, from her breaſt †.

But what was the conduct of Queen Mary at the time? No womaniſh lamentations; no ſinking of ſpirit; no abatement of preſence of mind; no failure of ingenuity, and of deep deſign. The ſeaſon, ſhe ſaid, was the ſeaſon for revenge ‡. Immediately, ſhe gained over the rebel Murray to her ſide, the very man for whoſe re-inſtatement the conſpiracy had in part, been ſet on foot, and who

* March 9. 1566. † Melvil, 148. Spotſwood, 196.
‡ Spotſwood, 195. Knox, 393.

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who had come that moment only into the ſcene; detached the King from the conſpirators, and doubly hateful as he now was become, ſeemed to wed him a ſecond time; received Morton and the other conſpirators with a gracious air; made them expect, that they were the objects of her forgiveneſs, and even of her favour; partly by the help of her friends, but chiefly by her own addreſs, effectuated an eſcape out of all their hands; pardoned Murray and the rebels, who had taken arms, upon her marriage; and purſued with unrelenting wrath, Morton and the other conſpirators againſt Rizio, out of the the kingdom. All theſe events, happened in the courſe, of little more than one week.

When we compare the firſt and the laſt ſcenes of this drama together, and mark the part which ſhe acted, the greateſt ſhare in the revolution having belonged perſonally to herſelf, Queen Mary appears to have been formed for counteracting plots, for meeting perils, for turning the hearts of thoſe whom ſhe wiſhed to gain, and for overwhelming ſuch as ſought her deſtruction, in a degree, which it ſhould ſeem has hardly ever been ſurpaſſed.

The fortunes of the Scottiſh Queen, were now, for a ſecond time, reſtored and ſignally triumphant. But her dangers, in place of being removed, were increaſed. Darnly, from this recent deed, was become more odious

odious than ever to her; and hence the means of disturbing her government, and of distressing her life, were greater than they yet, at any time, had been.

The conspiracy of her husband against her, (for Rizio was not the object), filled up the measure of injuries to the brim. "Such an outrage, (it has been justly remarked) it was impossible, any woman could bear or forgive." Yet in place of searching for relief, or of contriving vengeance against him, the effect which it had upon her mind, was to overwhelm it.

Darnly was beyond all the power of management. She was tied to a man, whom wisdom could not instruct: Lenity, nor rigour, could reclaim. Nature had formed him, without understanding; weak, foolish, insolent and intolerable. The miserable Queen, saw no safety for herself, so long as her enemies had this engine in their hands. The joyless victory she had gained, secured her not in the least, from similar attempts being repeated. A situation so cruel, threw her into the deepest anguish; and which proved again and again too strong to be concealed. She fell into melancholy; her health was preyed upon by despair; dejection and deadly grief at this period are mentioned by all her historians. These causes, it is to be believed, occasioned the fever at Jedburgh, which brought her to the borders of the grave.

BOOK II. grave *. Broken in her ſpirit; hopeleſs in her views; attacked by extreme ſickneſs, ſhe ſunk into the arms of a placid reſignation; and like one weary of life, prepared to die.

Her favourite objects divulged themſelves, in what ſeemed to be the laſt hours of life. She declared her perſeverance in the Catholic religion; recommended her infant ſon † to the Nobles, as the heir of their former Monarchs; and expreſſed an ardent deſire for maintaining friendſhip with France ‡.

Health returned, and the Parliament of England, ſoon after her recovery, teſtified the ſtrongeſt diſpoſition to ſettle her rights of inheritance in that kingdom; but nothing could eradicate, nor even abate, the diſtreſs which flowed from her ſituation. No proſpect of happineſs, nor even of ſafety, opened. She continued ſtill a prey to the King, goaded on by her adverſaries; and fell back again into the deepeſt deſpair. *I could wiſh to be dead*, were the words which ſhe often uttered §. She felt "the laſt wiſh of the unfortunate, (ſays an elegant and a great hiſtorian ‖), that life itſelf, might come to an end."

In

* October 1566.

† Her only child, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, born June 19, 1566.

‡ Keith, App. 134, 135. § Keith, Pref. vii.

‖ Principal Robertſon.

In this ſtate of her mind, four of the principal Nobles of Scotland, Murray, Argyle, Huntly and Bothwell, together with the Secretary Lethington, propoſed to her, at Craigmillar, a divorce from her huſband *. Murray and Lethington, had opened this project, firſt to Argyle, and next to Huntly; and uſed two arguments in its ſupport, That the Queen, in conſideration of the divorce to be effected by them, would be induced to pardon Morton and their other friends, who had been baniſhed for the murder of Rizio; and, that if Argyle and Huntly ſhould conſent to the propoſal, means would be fallen upon, to reſtore them to their own lands and offices. Upon the conſent of theſe two Noblemen being obtained, on condition, however, that the Queen herſelf were not diſpleaſed with the ſcheme, Bothwell laſt of all, was ſounded upon it; and he alſo having agreed, and on the ſame condition with Argyle and Huntly, all five went in a body to the Queen, reminded her of the grievous and intolerable injuries which ſhe had ſuſtained from her huſband, and offered, if ſhe would pardon Morton and the other baniſhed Lords, to procure a divorce between her and the King; and that, without any co-operation upon her part.

Queen Mary replied, "That upon two conditions, ſhe would agree to the propoſal:

* Spotſwood, 196. Crawfurd, 14.

BOOK II.

ſal: The one, That the divorce ſhould be made according to law; the other, That it ſhould not be prejudicial to her ſon: Otherwiſe, ſhe would rather endure every hardſhip, and run every riſk which might occur, during the courſe of her life." Her great object was not only to reign herſelf, but that her poſterity after her, by an indiſputed title, ſhould ſit upon the throne. The prejudice that a divorce in this caſe, might do her ſon, made her hence, withſtand the propoſal.

Lethington upon this, in the name of the reſt, engaged to make her *quit* of her huſband, *without* prejudice to her ſon: Words, which could not be underſtood otherwiſe, than as pointing at murder. Lord Murray, (added he) who is here preſent, ſcrupulous as he is, will connive; and behold our proceedings, without opening his lips. The Queen immediately made anſwer, " I deſire, that you will do nothing, from which any ſtain may be fixed upon my honour or conſcience; and I therefore require the matter to reſt as it is, till God of his goodneſs, ſend relief: What you think to be of ſervice to me, may turn out to my diſpleaſure and harm *.'

While

* It was upon the ground of this conference at Craigmillar, that the proteſtation of Argyle and Huntly made its appearance above two years afterward; in which theſe Noblemen expreſsly charged Murray and Lethington with the King's

While Queen Mary, from a virtuous abhorrence, thus expreſſed herſelf, there were other obſtacles which ſtood in the way of this

King's murder. I have extracted the ſubſtance of the proteſtation in what is above; the reader will find it at large, in Anderſon's Collections, iv. 188. Although this paper is in the name of Lords who were then hoſtile to Murray; was not written by themſelves; nor probably, ever ſeen by them; there can be little doubt, as to the truth of what it contains. It was drawn up by Lord Boyd, agreeable to a declaration which Huntly and Argyle themſelves had made to the Biſhop of Roſs upon the ſubject; and was ſent by Queen Mary (Jan. 5. 1569, during her captivity in England, and at the time of her trial there) to theſe two Earls, to be extended in form, ſubſcribed, and returned; but was intercepted on its way to Scotland, (as has been with great reaſon conjectured), and lodged among the Engliſh Secretary's papers, where it has been found. That it was not actually drawn up by Huntly and Argyle themſelves, although in fact they had intended to make a proteſtation upon the ſubject, was in order to ſave time; the Queen was at that period haſtening to produce her whole recrimination againſt Murray; there was reaſon to apprehend that ſhe might come too late with this part of the evidence; and in fact, this paper, even upon being intercepted, and on that account, conveyed much ſooner to London, arrived there only a few days before Murray departed thence to Scotland, and made his eſcape from the charges which were bringing forward againſt him. The Queen naturally, it may be farther remarked, had recourſe to the Biſhop of Roſs, as he was the perſon to whom the two Earls had before that time given a ſtatement of facts: He would keep theſe on his memory, and probably had put them in writing. At the ſame time, the Queen, on ſending the intercepted ſketch to Argyle and Huntly, left them at liberty to add to it, or to omit any part of it, as they ſhould find cauſe.

As authority for the above particulars, it may be proper to lay before the reader, the Queen's own private letter to Huntly,

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this plot. The leaſt of theſe, was the pardon of Morton and of the other conſpirators in the affair of Rizio; and which was the

Huntly, which accompanied the ſketch of the proteſtation, and was intercepted along with it. "Notwithſtanding (ſays the Queen) we have written to you lately, this is to ſhew, that Lord Boyd, who arrived here from the Court of London the 27th of laſt month, (December 1568), has declared how our rebels have done the worſt to diſhonour us, which thank God is not in their power; but contrary to their expectation have found themſelves diſappointed. They try now to get a compromiſe; but although we are not of ſuch a nature as thoſe who never forgive, we ſhall cauſe them acknowledge their fooliſhneſs, and the Queen and her Council to know their falſe inventions and offences practiſed againſt us, to diſguiſe their treaſon and wicked uſurpation; ſo that it ſhall be manifeſt to all the world, what men they are, to our honour, and the ſatisfaction of our faithful ſubjects. For, praiſed be God, our friends increaſe, and theirs decreaſe daily.

"You will receive a letter by this bearer, to be ſubſcribed by you and the Earl of Argyle, which is drawn up by Lord Boyd's advice, agreeable to the declaration ye made to the Biſhop of Roſs, he knowing your deliberation and will with reſpect to it. And although we know, there is no need to uſe any perſuaſion with you, that ye may be urged to that, in which ye can have nothing but reputation and honour; and ſeeing it is for your juſt defence, being calumniated by the unfaithfulneſs and treaſon of our rebels, yet we thought good to write to you, praying you to ſhew, that the integrity which is in you, and the equity of our cauſe, may not ſuffer our adverſaries and yours, to uſe ſuch vaunting, as they make againſt us and you two, among the reſt of our faithful ſubjects. As to our part, we are reſolved not to ſpare them, in ſetting up the truth againſt their lies; and hope, with the grace of God and equity of our cauſe, that all they have alleged againſt us, ſhall be found to their own ſhame and confuſion. We refer to your diſcretions to add to, or to take away

the condition, upon which, this propoſal oſtenſibly proceeded. What would have more force, was the aſſociation, by which it was tendered to her. The numbers of which it was compoſed, were not only ſufficient to deter her from truſting to their ſecrecy, (on the ſuppoſition, that ſhe ſhould, in any degree, incline to conſent); but Murray, one of them, ſhe had no confidence in; and beſides, moſt probably viewed, as her ſubtleſt and moſt dangerous enemy. To have joined with ſuch a band, To have believed that

away from the ſaid letter, as ye ſhall think beſt, and extend it in ſuch form, as ye ſhall think moſt neceſſary; praying you to ſend us the ſame again, ſubſcribed and ſealed, as ſoon as ye can, to the end it may be produced with the reſt of the accuſations which we intend to give in againſt our traitors." Bolton, 5th January 1569. Anderſon, iv. 185. While Queen Mary is here writing to Argyle and Huntly, upon matters in which they were intereſted as well as herſelf, it is evident, that beſides triumphing in the juſtice of her cauſe, ſhe was entertaining no doubt of their voluntarily atteſting what was contained in the ſketch of proteſtation.

Theſe Noblemen had indeed already (Sept. 12. 1568.) ſet their hands to a very public and reſpectable paper, among other things, ſetting forth, what is contained in the very proteſtation before us. It is there declared, "That the Queen altogether refuſed, upon any plea whatever, to diſpatch the King; as is manifeſtly known." Goodall, ii. 359. This paper has the authority of ſeven Earls, twelve Lords, eight Biſhops, and eight Abbots. The ſtrain of it, is pointed and ardent; correſponding with the indignation, which ſuch a tract of wickedneſs naturally excited. Upon the whole, there can be no doubt, that there was a propoſal made at Craigmillar to murder the King; and that the Queen did not agree to it.

BOOK II. they were all animated with nothing, but friendſhip for her, To have been ſo blind as not to ſee that they might have views of their own, and take ſuch an advantage of her concurrence as to keep her ever afterward under their thraldom, is irreconcilable, even with the ſmalleſt degrees of acuteneſs and of ſuſpicion. Influenced probably, by all theſe conſiderations; and much more, we may charitably believe, by the higher principles of duty and of religion, Queen Mary took at once, a decided part, and explicitly forbade the attempt.

Could we penetrate through that cloud, which hangs over her conduct, poſterior to this expreſs and laudable declaration againſt the murder of her huſband, till her marriage about ſix months afterward with Bothwell, one of the murderers, an event which appears to infer an alteration of ſentiment, we ſhould be enabled to diſcover the greateſt of all the ſecrets in Queen Mary's life. But no writings have revealed that myſtery: No voice, from the midſt of that darkneſs, has been heard. In this ſtate of uncertainty, one thing ſeems to be plain, That the change, whatever it was, muſt have been the work of time: At firſt, ſhe was altogether determined, againſt countenancing, or even conniving at the commiſſion of ſuch a criminal and barbarous deed. Step by ſtep moſt probably, and in conſequence of arguments

ments indirectly uſed with her, drawn from neceſſity, which politicians have employed, but which moraliſts muſt abhor, this fatal project of wicked and deſigning men, may have at laſt been rendered, in ſome meaſure, leſs ſhocking to her mind. BOOK II.

The human heart, even in the caſe of thoſe, who are by nature on the ſide of virtue, ſuch as this Princeſs appears to have been, has often been known, when brooding over misfortunes, to be unhappily tempted to give way to the evil ſuggeſtions of others. What was at firſt ſtartling, has grown by degrees, familiar to the thought. To the propoſal, when originally laid before Queen Mary at Craigmillar, both from the atrocity of it, and probably alſo, as has been juſt ſuggeſted, from the numbers and characters of thoſe by whom it was made, ſhe was moſt manifeſtly adverſe. But ſtill, ſhe continued plunged in the ſame deſpair: Still, the idea held forth, of eſcaping from it, might probably be recurring to her imagination. Should the ſcheme be, a ſecond time, inſidiouſly brought under her eye; be again and again hinted at; and by any individual who fell not under her ſuſpicion, great was the danger to be feared. Virtue might not be entirely ſhaken; but it might fatally relax from thoſe ſtrict and ſacred dictates, from whoſe direction it ſhould never ſwerve.

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How far Queen Mary actually ſwerved from thoſe dictates, is the great queſtion upon this ſubject. From her character, ſo diſtinguiſhed for religious principles, it cannot be believed, that ſhe would at any period, take a part in deviſing, much leſs, in aiding the execution, of ſuch a foul and unnatural crime. It cannot even be credited, that ſhe would liſten at all to ſuch a ſcheme; or ſuffer any of the particulars of it, to be mentioned to her. The utmoſt we can conceive is, that in place of abſolutely forbidding it, as ſhe did at Craigmillar, ſhe might have ſo far changed her ground afterward, as to forbid any perſon to ſpeak to her upon the ſubject.

So much, may have been warrantable, from the views which we have already had of her character and ſituation, to anticipate here, upon this chaſm in Queen Mary's hiſtory. The evidences with regard to what actually took place, ſo far as is known, will be ſoon ſtated, as they occur to be made mention of, in the courſe of the detail. At preſent, we return to the thread of the narrative.

Soon after the conference at Craigmillar, Mary pardoned the conſpirators againſt Rizio *; which was the condition, upon which the propoſals had been tendered at that place; but ſtill without acceding to them; although her concurrence perhaps, would be conſidered

* Towards the end of December 1566.

ed as tacitly implied. Several circumſtances, however, are againſt ſuch an interpretation. It appears, that previous to the conference at Craigmillar, the Court of France had interfered in behalf of the conſpirators: Caſtelnau had been diſpatched, on that errand, with a view to reſtore the public quiet in Scotland; and his endeavours, joined to the Queen's natural clemency, had paved the way for their pardon *. Murray, however, and his confederates, would not agree to adviſe the Queen to this ſtep; till they were at laſt aſſured, that Morton and the other conſpirators, would join with them, in a league and bond they had entered into, againſt her huſband. In this ſtage of the buſineſs, it ſhould ſeem that the meeting at Craigmillar took place. Upon the pardon of the conſpirators, Morton having immediately ſet out for Scotland, was met by Bothwell and the Secretary Lethington at Whittingham. At that place, they propoſed to him the murder of the King, and required his aſſiſtance, alleging that the Queen herſelf conſented to the deed; to which, Morton, by his own account, replied, that he was diſpoſed to concur; provided he were ſure of acting under any authority from her. Bothwell and Lethington having returned to Edinburgh, on purpoſe to obtain ſuch an au-

* Auguſt, Keith, App. 169. Principal Robertſon's App. 529, 530.

BOOK II. thority, ſent him back a meſſage, That the Queen would not permit any converſation upon that matter *.

What

* Crawford, 374, 375. Douglas's Declaration, *apud* Principal Robertſon's Append. 528, &c. This point, of Mary's concurrence in the ſcheme of her huſband's murder, being the chief, or rather the ſole one, upon which her character has been impeached; and the evidences of the Earl of Morton and of Archibald Douglas, affording the only lights with reſpect to what paſſed, between the time of the conference at Craigmillar, and the death of the King, it may be acceptable to the reader to ſubjoin the very words which theſe perſons themſelves uſed.

Morton was beheaded in 1581 for conſpiring and concealing the murder of the King, and made the following confeſſion immediately before his death: "That upon his return to (from) England, whither he had been baniſhed for the murder of Secretary Rizio, Bothwell came to him at Whittingham; and propoſed the murder of the King to him, alleging it was the Queen's own deſire to have him diſpatched as the principal author of Rizio's death, and deſired his (Morton's) aſſiſtance in the affair; to which he replied, that if he (Bothwell) would bring it under the Queen's own hand, he might then probably engage in the buſineſs: But that though Bothwell often laboured to draw him in, and promiſed to bring the Queen's hand-writing, yet he had never been able to procure any ſuch thing; and if he had, he (Morton) was reſolved, even then, not to have meddled in it. As to Mr Archibald Douglas his couſin, he ſaid he knew he was engaged in the murder before it was committed; and that after it was done, he told him, that he had accompanied Bothwell and Huntly to the place, and aſſiſted them in the execution of the fact." Upon this, one of the Clergymen aſſiſting on that occaſion, having told him, That by his own confeſſion he merited death, in foreknowing and concealing the murder of his Prince,—"Ay but Sir, (cried he), had I been as innocent as St Stephen, or as guilty as Judas, I muſt have come to the ſcaffold. Pray, what

What uſe Bothwell made of ſuch a ſilence and an interdict, ſeems evident from his conduct, afterward to be ſtated. It was one of BOOK II.

what ought I to have done in this matter? You knew not the King's weakneſs, Sir. If I had informed him of the plot againſt his life, he would have revealed it even to his enemies and thoſe concerned in the deſign; and I would, it may be, have loſt my own life, for endeavouring to preſerve his to no purpoſe."

Archibald Douglas's declaration was made to Queen Mary herſelf in the 1586, the year before that Princeſs was put to death in England. He had been baniſhed from Scotland upon account of his ſhare in the King's murder, and was now ſoliciting her influence to be reſtored; to which ſhe replied, that ſhe would grant him all favour, if he were innocent of the heinous deed laid to his charge: If otherwiſe, ſhe would neither ſolicit for him, nor for any other guilty of that execrable crime, but would ſeek revenge. Among other particulars, in his anſwer to the Queen, he mentions—" That after the Earl of Morton repaired to Whittingham, Bothwell and Secretary Lethington came to him (Morton) at that place. What converſation paſſed there between them, as God ſhall be my Judge, I knew nothing at that time; but at their departure, I was requeſted by the ſaid Earl Morton to accompany the Earl Bothwell and Secretary to Edinburgh, and to return with ſuch anſwer as they ſhould obtain of your Majeſty, which being given me by the ſaid perſons, as God ſhall be my Judge, was no other than theſe words: *Shew to the Earl Morton, that the Queen will hear no ſpeech of that matter appointed unto him.* When I craved that the anſwer might be made more ſenſible (intelligible), Secretary Lethington ſaid, that the Earl would ſufficiently underſtand it; although few or none, at that time, underſtood what paſſed among them. It is known to all men, as well, by railing letters paſſed between the ſaid Earl and Lethington, when they came to be in different factions, as alſo (by) a book ſet forth by the Miniſters, in which they affirm, that the Earl of Mor-

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of the great misfortunes in Queen Mary's life, that this man had ſtood in ſome reſpects, well in her opinion. He had been, ſo far as a Proteſtant could be, always inoffenſive to her; had, till very recently, been on hoſtile terms with Murray; had been the friend of her mother; and had done herſelf, the moſt acceptable of all the ſervices ſhe ever received, in being a means of procuring her eſcape from the conſpirators in the affair of Rizio. By what particular views he was impelled to engage ſo deep in this atrocious ſcheme, Whether he acted entirely at the inſtigation of Murray and his partizans, who might hold out alluring objects to his ambition, after the management of public affairs ſhould come into their hands, Or whether, along with this, the daring idea had entered his own mind, or had been ſuggeſted from the ſame quarter, of even ſucceeding to the place of him who was to be murdered, is left in that uncertainty which clouds ſo many of the baſe tranſactions of thoſe times. We may venture only to conjecture, if he were actuated ſolely by Murray, that he was the dupe of that deſigning politician; whoſe object

ton had confeſſed to them, before his death, that the Earl Bothwell came to Whittingham, to propoſe the calling away off the King your huſband, to the which propoſition the ſaid Earl of Morton affirms, that he could give no anſwer till ſuch time as he might know your Majeſty's mind therein, which he never received."

ject in elevating, would only be to delude him. In exciting Bothwell to murder the King, and to marry the Queen, the ruin of all three might be accompliſhed; as not long afterward, came to paſs. BOOK II.

Whatever were the ſecret thoughts of the unhappy Queen during the period between the propoſal for cutting off her huſband, and the actual accompliſhment of it, no joy, no peace of mind enſued: Hiſtory ſucceſſively records her mortifications; the freſh griefs and melancholy into which ſhe fell, and with which, ſhe was overwhelmed. All this was made openly manifeſt at the baptiſm of the Prince her ſon *; upon which occaſion, the King, purpoſely to marr the feſtival-joy, and to inſult her in the eyes of the Court, and of foreign Ambaſſadors, took up his reſidence at the place, but was not preſent at the ſolemnity. Le Croc, the French Ambaſſador, and the King's own confident, referring to this ſcene, relates, "That the King's deportment was incurable; nor could there ever be any good expected from him. The Queen is plunged in vexation and trouble. She ſent for me yeſterday †; and I found her laid on the bed, weeping ſore." Had this Princeſs rejoiced in the plot againſt her huſband's life, and known of the ſteps which probably were already taken, for ſoon effectuating it, ſhe

* At Stirling, Dec. 17. 1566.

† Dec. 22. Keith, Pref. vii.

BOOK II. ſhe certainly would not thus have given way to ſuch extremities of ſorrow.

A few days after this *, he ſet out for Glaſgow, without taking leave of her; and the Queen, to divert her melancholy, made ſome viſits in the neighbourhood of Stirling, from which ſhe went to Edinburgh †. Meanwhile, the King had been taken very dangerouſly ill, owing moſt probably to poiſon having been given him, by the conſpirators. Mary, although ſhe was appriſed of additional machinations carried on by him againſt her, as appears from a letter ſhe then wrote ‡ to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, her Ambaſſador in France, yet upon being informed of his illneſs, and alſo that he was in a ſtate of penitence and ſorrow §, ſhe went to Glaſgow ‖; and during her attendance upon him there, ſo far ſubdued her diſguſt, as to ſhew every attention and tenderneſs which the duty of a wife required. Upon his health being in part reſtored, he returned with her to Edinburgh **; at which place, the murder was at laſt accompliſhed ††; and in ſuch a manner, as to leave no per[illegible]

* Dec. 27. † About the middle of Jan. 1567.

‡ Jan. 20. Keith, Pref. viii.

§ Biſhop Leſley *apud* Anderſon, I. 12.

‖ Probably on Jan. 21. ** About the 29th January 1567.

†† February 10. 1567.

perſon in doubt, that it was the conſequence of a concerted and of a deliberate deſign. BOOK II.

Whoever were the perſons, who formed that deſign; whoever indirectly abetted it; whoever even, were only conſcious of its exiſtence, No apology can be admitted in their defence. With regard to Queen Mary, her general character, pleads that ſhe was innocent. This Princeſs was diſtinguiſhed for gentleneſs and humanity, as well as for talents and ſpirit. "Of her own nature, (ſays Melvil), ſhe was more inclined to mercy, than to rigour *." Beſides, it ſhould ſeem, theſe were not the times for ſuch black deeds being committed by her ſex. It is chiefly in the decline and laſt luxury of empires, that women ſhare in the crimes of men; concert plots of death; mix poiſons, and handle daggers.

That in fact, ſhe knew nothing at all, in particular, with reſpect to the murder; was acquainted with none of the circumſtances which attended it, neither the place, nor the time, nor the manner of its being accom-[illegible]l, although ſhe may have had ſome grounds to ſuſpect, that a conſpiracy for this purpoſe was really in agitation, appears ſufficiently plain. Every evidence upon record, every witneſs at the hour of death, deolared that the Queen had no participation in the plot. The four ſervants of Bothwell, who were

* Melvil, 125.

BOOK II. were executed, upon their confeſſing that they were acceſſary to the murder, all conſtantly aſſerted that the Queen was innocent; and that they underſtood, Murray and Morton to be the authors of it *. So likewiſe did French Paris her own ſervant, at the hour of execution †: The very perſon, who is ſaid to have had her confidence, and to have carried the famous open letters from her to Bothwell. Captain Blackadder, when upon the ſcaffold for the ſame crime, ſolemnly proteſted his belief, that Murray and Morton were the authors of the murder ‡. Men of the firſt rank in the nation, it is ſaid, firmly believed the ſame thing §. Lethington, who was himſelf deep in the plot, convinced the Duke of Norfolk, one of the Commiſſioners at the trial of Queen Mary in England, that ſhe was innocent of the crimes laid to her charge ‖. Morton, at his death, declared the Queen to be wholly guiltleſs **; and particularly confeſſed, as has been already ſtated, that Bothwell could obtain no concurrence from that Princeſs; the deed being perpetrated, without conſulting her ††. Bothwell

* Biſhop of Roſs, Anderſon's Collections, I. 9, 23, 76, 77. Crawford, 41. Lords and Biſhops, Goodall, II. 359, 361. Camden, 121.

† Anderſon, I. 19. Camden, 121.

‡ Crawford, 41. Camden, 97.

§ Crawford, 13. ‖ Murdin, 164. Crawford, 106.

** Crawford, 54, 55.

†† Crawford, 374, 375. Camden, 121.

well himſelf, when a priſoner in Denmark, both living and dying, ſolemnly proteſted that the Queen was wholly innocent of the murder; and not even privy to it *. From all

* Crawford, 54. Camden, 121. Bothwell made two declarations, while he was in Denmark. The firſt was in 1570. At that period, the Earl of Lennox, then Regent of Scotland, diſpatched a Mr Thomas Buchanan to the Daniſh Court, to ſolicit, that Bothwell might be given up to him, in order to receive the puniſhment due to his crimes; and in this requeſt, he had even the ſhow of being ſeconded by Queen Elizabeth. The King of Denmark conſented to this, but only upon condition, that Bothwell ſhould have a fair trial, after his return. It may be gueſſed from this, that the Court of Denmark had found, from an examination of Bothwell, that he was only one of many conſpirators in the plot againſt Darnly's life; and had ſuſpected, that the others engaged in it, might cut him ſummarily or clandeſtinely off, leſt he ſhould divulge their names. However this may have been, all farther application to the Court of Denmark, was either dropped or prevented. About the time that the diſpatch was ſent by the Daniſh Court, Thomas Buchanan wrote a private letter upon the ſame ſubject, addreſſed to the Regent Lennox; but which has unfortunately been loſt. This letter, on its way to Lennox, having fallen into the hands of Morton, then in London, who uſed the freedom to open it, he found the contents to be ſuch, that he could not lay them before Queen Elizabeth; and therefore fabricating a copy of the letter, in which the paſſages were omitted which he thought not meet to be ſhewn, he delivered it, in that ſhape, to the Engliſh Court. It was not till ſome time afterward, that he ſent the original to Lennox, accompanied with a copy of the fabricated one. Probably the omitted paſſages were in favour of Queen Mary's innocence, and divulged the guilt of her enemies: It is more than poſſible, that they pointed at Elizabeth herſelf, as an abettor of Darnly's murder. Goodall, II. 382.

The

BOOK II. all which, we may ſafely infer, that Queen Mary had not only, no ſhare in deviſing and in executing the death of her huſband; had not

The other declaration made by Bothwell, was at his death in 1576; and in which it is ſaid, he fully exculpated Queen Mary. She heard the news of this while in her priſon in England; and wrote to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, her Ambaſſador in France, as follows—"I have been informed of the death of the Earl of Bothwell; and that before his deceaſe, he made an ample confeſſion of his faults, and owned himſelf to be the author, and guilty of the aſſaſſination of the late King my huſband, of which he acquits me in very expreſs terms, ſwearing upon the damnation of his ſoul, that I am innocent. And as, if it were ſo, this teſtimony would avail me much, againſt the falſe calumnies of my enemies, I beg you to ſearch into the truth of it, by every means in your power. The perſons who aſſiſted at the emitting of the ſaid declaration, which was afterwards ſigned and ſealed by them in form of a teſtament, are Otto Braw of the Caſtle of Elcambre, Paris Braw of the Caſtle of Vaſcut, M. Gullunſtarne of the Caſtle of Fulcenſtere, the Biſhop of Skon, and four Bailiffs of the town," &c. June 1. 1576, Keith, App. 141.

It does not appear, that the Queen of Scots obtained any farther information upon this ſubject. The King of Denmark ſent the declaration to Queen Elizabeth, but which that Princeſs ſuppreſſed. (Keith, App. 143.) A kind of abſtract of it, has been preſerved in a paper, written by ſome Frenchman, who had heard of it by report; and is as follows—"The Earl of Bothwell being at the point of death in the Caſtle of Malmay, declared to be true what follows. The Biſhop of Scone, with four great Lords, namely, the Lords Berin Gowes of the Caſtle of Malmay, Otto Braw of the Caſtle of Ottenbrocht, Paris Braw of the Caſtle of Veſcut, and M. Gullunſtarne of the Caſtle of Falcenſtrie, together with the four Bailiffs of the town, prayed the ſaid Earl to declare freely what he knew of the death of the late King Henry, and of the authors of it, as he ſhould anſwer before

not only, given no conſent to it, either by writing or in words; but had not even heard of any of the ſmalleſt particulars of the plot which was carrying on againſt his life. BOOK II.

Additional

before God at the day of judgment, where all things, how ſecret ſoever, ſhould be laid open. Upon this, the Earl repreſenting, that on account of his preſent great weakneſs, he could not ſpeak of all that he knew of the matter, affirmed, that the Queen was innocent of the ſaid death; that he himſelf only, his relations, and ſome of the Nobility, were the authors of it. Being afterward requeſted by the ſaid Lords, to mention ſome of the perſons, he named my Lord James Earl of Morray, my Lord Robert Abbot of Holy-roodhouſe, (now Earl of Orkney) both of them baſtard-brothers of the Queen, the Earls of Argueil, Crauford, Glencarn, Morton, my Lord Boyd, the Barons of Ledington, Buccleugh and Grange. He added afterward, how that by the art of enchantment, to which from his youth he had been much addicted at Paris and elſewhere, he had brought the Queen to love him, and had got rid of his own wife: After the conſummation of the marriage, he ſought all means how to deſtroy the infant Prince, and all the Nobility who would not fall in with him: Afterward, how he had debauched two daughters of a great Lord in Denmark, whom he carried to Scotland, and two others of a great Lord of the town of Lubec, under pretence of marriage, and many other women of rank in France, Denmark, England and Scotland: Begging pardon of God, on receiving his body, being worn out, he died. All this, more at large, was written in Latin and Daniſh, ſigned with the ſeal of the King of Denmark, and of the aſſiſtants above named; and will come to light one day, in proof of the innocence of the Queen of Scots. This copy was imparted by a merchant worthy of credit, who aſſiſted at the laſt atteſtation of the ſaid Earl." Keith, App. 144.

However clear it is, that Bothwell had declared at this and at the former period, that Queen Mary had no ſhare in deviſing

BOOK II.

Additional incidents may be mentioned, in favour of theſe concluſions; and which took place, at the very period of the King's death. After all preparations were made, the conſpirators had to wait many days, a thing very needleſs if the Queen had been in the concert, till ſhe ſhould happen to be at a diſtance from the houſe of Kirk-a-field in Edinburgh, in which the King lay. She had gone, late in the night on which the murder was committed, to the palace of Holy-rood-houſe, on purpoſe to do honour to the marriage of a domeſtic, which was celebrating in that place. On that night alſo, before ſhe ſet out, ſhe kiſſed the ſick Darnly, and put her ring on his finger: Offices, which it is probable, the gentleneſs of her nature, would have rendered her unable to perform, had ſhe been in the leaſt apprized of

deviſing the plot, it is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that little ſtreſs can be laid upon the above paper reſpecting his dying declaration. It ſeems to have been made up by ſome low perſon; partly, from what had actually tranſpired with regard to Bothwell's genuine declaration; and partly, from the ſilly ſtories paſſing among the vulgar at that time. The chief reaſon for giving it a place here, is to ſhew, that the account which Queen Mary herſelf had got, was not obtained from that paper; as appears, from a compariſon of the two. The number of the aſſiſtants is different; ſo is alſo, the order in which they are mentioned; there is a variation both in the names, and in the ſpelling. From which we may conceive, that ſetting aſide this paper altogether, there were other and more authentic evidences circulating at that time, that Bothwell had, at his death, made a declaration in favour of the Queen.

of the event which, in a few hours afterward, ſucceeded *.

The circumſtances were memorable which accompanied that event. In the hours of darkneſs, in the ſilence of midnight, and within the walls of the capital of the kingdom, a large building was blown up by gunpowder into the air; the vaſt noiſe occaſioned by the exploſion of which, brought multitudes of the terrified citizens from their beds to the ſpot †: An irrefragable proof, that the deſign was not to conceal, but to proclaim to them and to the nation, that Darnly, who was then under the immediate cuſtody of the Queen, had died a violent death. That this might be made ſure of, That by no accident his life might be ſaved, That no doubt might remain of what was become of him, He was previouſly ſtrangled; carried out from the building before it was blown up, and his body laid in a neighbouring field, for all men, upon the returning light, to ſee him dead.

No perſon can aſcribe this mode of the murder to the Queen: That her enemies inſinuated as much in thoſe days, was owing

* The Queen ſet out between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. Darnly was murdered before two o'clock next morning, the 10th of February 1567.

† Crawford, 13. Spotſwood, 200. Buchanan *apud* Anderſon, II. 79. The noiſe, ſays Buchanan, filled all mens ears, and ſhook every houſe: They who were awake, were terrified; they who ſlept, awaked.

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to their having then, every thing in their power. Had ſhe had the heart to have contributed to ſuch a ſhocking deed, ſhe certainly had the ſkill to have conducted the execution of it, in a manner that would have been the reverſe. Privacy would have been ſtudied; and the declining ſtate of her huſband's health, would have helped to render his deceaſe, leſs a matter of queſtion, or even of ſurpriſe *.

The Queen herſelf, in fact, viewed this event in the light that has been ſtated; for on the very next day, ſhe was deſirous of having the truth made known, that the King (as ſhe conceived) was blown into the air by gun-powder †. In a letter alſo which ſhe wrote on that day, to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, her Ambaſſador at the Court of France, ſhe gives a particular account of the exploſion; and mentions beſides, that ſhe was convinced the plot was intended for her own deſtruction, as well as that of the King ‡. With regard to Bothwell, he explained the matter very differently: He told Melvil, (and on the ſame day too, which ſhews how little

* In the laſt edition of Mr Tytler's Inquiry, I find, that the ſame reaſoning is uſed, but more amply ſtated and completely enforced than I had done. I therefore muſt refer the reader to the able and learned publication of that author; vol. II. page 82. &c.

† Knox, 404.

‡ See the Letter, Appendix ſecond of this work.

little he concerted with the Queen), that it was the effect of *thunder* *. While this account of his, wears a ſtrange and wild aſpect, it ſeems to throw light upon his private views; and probably is to be aſcribed, to his having ſecretly intended, to ſteer a different courſe from Murray. Murray's deſire, we may conceive, was to get rid of the Queen, as well as of Darnly: To poſſeſs himſelf of the Queen, or rather of the kingdom through her, was Bothwell's object; and therefore it may have been in his contemplation, to ſhield the Queen from a criminal charge, by thus attributing Darnly's death to the operation of natural cauſes. From this perhaps, we may ſuſpect, that the mine was ſoon prepared by the former, and was late in being ſprung by the latter, of theſe two unprincipled men.

From the mere removal of Darnly however, Murray and his partiſans, gained little: In one reſpect, they loſt by it; for the perſon who had been the cauſe of bitter vexation, both private and public, to the Queen, ceaſed, on that event, to exiſt. But in putting him to death, and at the ſame time induſtriouſly faſtening the murder upon her, they nearly reached the ſummit of all their aims. From the views which they ſeem to have had, from the means which they enjoyed of carrying them into effect, from

* Melvil, 155.

BOOK II. the manner in which this event was brought to paſs, all the operations tending to which, it has appeared, were utterly unknown to the Queen, we may probably be juſtified in conceiving, that the meaſure was determined upon, even although ſhe had, with no little activity, exerted herſelf to prevent its execution.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK III.

The hiſtory of Queen Mary, from the death of Darnly, till her flight into England.

SO far, from what has yet appeared, as to the amount of Queen Mary's ſhare in the atrocious conſpiracy againſt the life of her huſband. To conclude, from the evidences which have been ſtated, that ſhe was perfectly innocent; innocent, notwithſtanding the ſingular inſults and trials to which ſhe had been expoſed, would be to crown Virtue with deſerved laurels; and to gratify the heart of every reader, who peruſes the mournful ſtory of the Queen of Scots. BOOK III.

BOOK III.

But her after-marriage with Bothwell, ſtands in the way. From that event, the eyes of mankind cannot be turned aſide. When we proceed now to the account of that fatal meaſure, it is with all thoſe ſentiments of regret and affliction, which the ſubject excites. While Compaſſion, however, is to be indulged for the unfortunate and the miſerable, Juſtice muſt prevail. The ſtandard of Hiſtory, is Truth: The hiſtorian, attached to no party and to no individual, has to record only what is true; to maintain only what is juſt. However grievous therefore the injuries were, which this Princeſs had endured; however hopeleſs and cruel her ſituation, while Darnly lived; however good, in other reſpects, her diſpoſitions; brilliant and lovely her character; All taken together, cannot be admitted to have force, ſufficient to wipe out the ſtains of guilt, or plead for the forgiveneſs of ſin.

The Queen of Scots, in conſequence of the death of her huſband, had hardly the proſpect opened before her, of making ſuch a new choice, as might give domeſtic felicity to her life, and add ſtrength to her throne, when theſe views, proved, almoſt inſtantly, deluſive. She was not aware of the power which ſhe had given Bothwell over her; and how far he might carry it. Nothing could be refuſed to the man, who, from a conſtruction put upon her ſilence, could tell, if he chooſed it,

it, that ſhe conſented to the murder of her huſband. In doing ſo, indeed, he might involve himſelf in the common ruin, as being much deeper in the crime; but this could be no conſolation to her, nor make her own ſubjects and the Engliſh nation, think the leſs unfavourably of her conduct; and what principally was to be dreaded, The whole guilt, might by him, or by other powerful, deſigning and wicked men, be rolled upon herſelf. Bothwell, in fact, two months only after the murder, was judicially abſolved. From his acquittal, ſhe had a ſpecimen of the practicability of influencing trials at law, of packing judges, and of deterring proſecutors *.

In place of gaining the freedom which ſhe panted for, and of gratifying the wiſhes which ſhe cheriſhed, Queen Mary was fated to be the moſt wretched of ſlaves. She had to ſuffer herſelf to be ſeized by Bothwell,

* The trial of Bothwell, (April 12. 1567), was at the inſtance of Lennox, the father of Darnly. Murray, Morton and Lethington were the ſtrenuous defenders of Bothwell againſt this impeachment. The judges were Murray's warm friends. No legal time was allowed to Lennox for preparing the charge, and for aſſembling his friends and vaſſals. Bothwell appeared at the trial, with a formidable retinue of partiſans and ſoldiers. Although Lennox required, that Bothwell ſhould be confined, otherwiſe he would not be preſent at the trial, that demand was not granted. The conſequence of all this, was, that Lennox being intimidated, did not appear; and the jury acquitted Bothwell, as there was no proſecutor.

BOOK III. in leſs than two weeks after his acquittal; to be violated; and to be dragged about, from place to place, at his will *.

Had ſhe been entirely innocent, in vain, had every attempt of his, been againſt her. From the ſlighteſt look which we can take of the ſpirit and the talents of this Princeſs, there is no doubt, ſhe was able, if circumſtances had been different, to have driven Bothwell to perdition. The apologies which have been made for her conduct, in thus ſubmitting to ſuch enormities, can be liſtened to, on no other grounds, but, That from being among the firſt perſons in her own, or in any age, for decorum, addreſs and magnanimity, ſhe had all at once fallen from ſo high a character; ſunk into the moſt ſhameful and revolting voluptuouſneſs; loſt her faculties; bordered upon idiocy. But this would be, to contradict every rule which governs the conduct of human beings in a ſound

* The ſeizure took place upon April 24. 1567. Melvil, who was preſent at this event, and who, immediately upon it, accompanied the Queen and Bothwell to Dunbar, relates, "That Bothwell boaſted at Dunbar, he would marry the Queen, who would or who would not; yea, whether ſhe would herſelf or not." He mentions alſo, "That Captain Blackadder (who was likewiſe preſent) alleged that the ſeizure was with the Queen's conſent." But this was a mere allegation of Blackadder's; and without any authority aſſigned by him. Melvil does not ſay that he believed Blackadder. The contrary, is plainly to be inferred from what he, a few lines afterward, in homely terms ſays, "That Bothwell had raviſhed the Queen, and lain with her, againſt her will." Melvil, 158, 159.

ſound ſtate of mind: All that has been conceived about the power of faſcination, is unable to account for ſuch events. The innocent, (as has been maintained by many), the able, the almoſt magical Queen Mary, was ſeized by Bothwell, reeking with Darnly's blood; diſhonoured by him; held captive; at laſt, liberated; but ſtill adhered to him! Was this the Mary, it may be aſked, who was diſtinguiſhed for decency and pride, celebrated for an orderly life, fertile in ſtratagem, dextrous in eloquence, daring in ſpirit, elevated and indignant of ſoul, who ſo often croſſed plots, calmed ſtorms, compoſed a nation, routed Murray, baniſhed Morton, foiled Elizabeth?

A conſciouſneſs of the plot againſt Darnly, was the chain which bound up ſuch powerful hands. The ſeizure and the rape, were deeds, which we muſt conclude, were altogether abhorrent from her mind; and the effects of threatening and of force. It is to be believed, that the Queen durſt hardly diſcover the ſmalleſt reſentment upon theſe occaſions; and that if ſhe acted a double part in any thing, it was in publicly bearing with, contrary to her inward feelings, this wicked and tyrannizing man.

Along with theſe perpetrations, Bothwell made a propoſal of marriage. Queen Mary, by this, was reduced to a ſituation which tragically divided her mind: She was to chooſe

BOOK III.

chooſe between two misfortunes, the leaſt of which was too heavy to be born. On one ſide, was a great deep, The loſs of her crown, her liberty and life, if a charge ſhould be brought againſt her conduct, with reſpect to the murder of her huſband. On the other, was Bothwell; a perſon, whom, although it is to be believed, ſhe never had any affection for, and now ſecretly abhorred, yet, he was publicly acquitted of the crime; was preſſing for her hand, was one of the moſt powerful Noblemen in the kingdom, and might turn his whole influence, and employ his whole arts and villany againſt her cauſe, if ſhe refuſed his ſuit. Should ſhe marry *him*, ſome rays of light ſtill ſhone upon her fortunes. To ſuſpicion indeed, ſhe would infallibly be expoſed, in taking for a huſband, a man who although legally acquitted, yet ſtood ſtill guilty, in the public eye; but that ſuſpicion againſt her, could not, of itſelf, become the ground of a trial at law. All danger, would be for the preſent at leaſt, removed. Beſides, the great body of the Nobles, with Murray their inſtigator, at their head, had ſigned a bond of aſſociation, urging the marriage with Bothwell; and binding their lives and properties to maintain it *.

So

* April 19. 1567. Anderſon, I. 112. Crawford, 21. Murray's name, was the very firſt in the liſt of ſubſcribers, in

So probably, did the matter ſtand, both ways, in the eyes of this diſtracted Queen. And to which ſide was ſhe to turn? The dilemma was cruel, and the toils of fate were around her. A forlorn hope only remained; and embarking upon the laſt plank of it, ſhe conſented to marry Bothwell.

Her conduct on the twelfth day of May following *, when ſhe publicly intimated that conſent, furniſhes a deciſive proof in this melancholy cauſe. On that day, ſhe had it in her power, if unconſcious of the conſpiracy againſt Darnly, to have extricated herſelf from every danger; to have waſhed off every aſperſion; and to have come forth, in renewed light, from the cloud which ſurrounded her.

Granting, for a moment, what has been contended for, That ſhe was altogether innocent of her huſband's murder: Admitting, what there is no ground to be denied, That ſhe was, afterward, *really* ſeized, violated and held captive by Bothwell—At laſt, on the twelfth of May, ſhe was at liberty. What part, on that day, was Queen Mary to act?

It is a mockery of our reaſon, and a refinement prepoſterous and unwarrantable, to allege,

in order to decoy others to ſign after him. Afterward, he attempted to ſuppreſs the bond altogether when his object was obtained.

* May 12. 1567.

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allege, That in order to ſcreen her diſhonour as a woman, and her degradation as a Queen, ſhe was driven by neceſſity to marry one of the murderers of her huſband, *becauſe* ſhe had been violated by that murderer; for this would be, to ſtate a motive of mere delicacy, againſt Truth and Innocence, againſt Honour and Virtue themſelves. It is very conceivable, that a woman might marry a man who had violated her, purely in conſequence of that violation; but the caſe here, is widely different. Queen Mary in doing ſo, would have ſhewed, that ſhe valued leſs, The undoubted imputation of being a party in a moſt horrible crime, than the involuntary ſtain of having ſuffered violence from a man notoriouſly lawleſs and profligate.

The Queen had undergone the utmoſt indignities: The nation ſtood aſtoniſhed at the thought of them: Suſpicion was in every face: All good men were anxiouſly waiting for an explanation from her lips: The hour of deliverance was come. She could be vindicated, while in the hands of Bothwell, for keeping ſilence; and even for conſenting to marry him. But now, the ſcene was changed. On the twelfth of May, in her own capital; in the preſence of the Court of Seſſion; of the Provoſt of Edinburgh, and of many of the principal perſons of rank and character in the kingdom, among whom were

were ſome of her warmeſt friends, ſhe ſtood, as ſhe avowed herſelf, at perfect liberty *. So far, might diſſimulation be carried; but no farther.

Guarded by ſuch a body of men; throbbing with the great emotions, which ſuch a juncture prompted to diſcloſe; had Queen Mary, upon that day, with a look of horror, ſtepped from the ſide of Bothwell, and addreſſed her numerous and illuſtrious ſubjects—"Ye Nobles and Judges of Scotland, I have ſuffered enormities which cannot be endured, from the ruffian Bothwell, who ſtands in your preſence; and to augment the meaſure of them, I have been conſtrained to promiſe,—the laſt of indignities! To give my hand to a man, whom I abhor; and who I believe, is one of the murderers of my late huſband: I conjure and demand of you, and of all my loyal ſubjects, at this moment, to reſcue me, and to ſeize upon him;"—Had Queen Mary ſpoken, to this effect, Bothwell would have been chained upon the ſpot; She, would not only have regained her liberty and baniſhed ſuſpicion, but have excited the ſympathy, and been re-inſtated in the eſteem and the hearts, of her ſubjects.

But inſtead of this, the Queen declared, that her anger againſt Bothwell had ſubſided; that ſhe forgave him; that ſhe was at liberty;

* Anderſon, I. 87, 88.

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ty; and was to promote him to new honours *. The marriage took place, on the third day after this critical ſcene †.

A week or two only afterward, the Queen of Scots was treated by Bothwell with ſuch indecency, rudeneſs and violence, as to fill her eyes almoſt conſtantly with tears; and to prompt the thought of taking away her life by her own hands ‡: Sad additional proofs, that there had been no affection on either ſide; that ſhe had married him from cruel neceſſity alone; that he availed himſelf of that neceſſity to tyrannize over her; and was endeavouring, perhaps, to wreſt the ſceptre altogether out of her hands. A ſingle month only had elapſed, when, the preparations made by the Lords who confederated, part of them againſt Bothwell; part againſt both Bothwell and the Queen, under the influence of Murray; proving too formidable to be diſputed with, by arms, the Queen and Bothwell, in conſequence of the terms of a capitulation, ſeparated from one another; and, as it happened, never to meet again.

To the Queen, it was expreſsly and repeatedly ſtipulated by the confederate Nobles, that upon her leaving the company of Bothwell and coming over to them, all that obedience and reverence ſhould be paid her

* Anderſon, I. 87, 88. † May 15. 1567.

‡ Melvil, 161.

her which is due to the Sovereign Power*. But; that ſame day †, ſhe was deprived by them of her liberty; and on the next, put in priſon. Bothwell, on the other hand, was permitted to retire without moleſtation; notwithſtanding they had declared, that their ſole aim was to puniſh him for the murder of the late King ‡. To have made a priſoner of him, would have obliged them to impeach him openly at law, and which could eaſily have been done, notwithſtanding BOOK III.

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* Goodall, II. 164,—166. † June 15.

‡ The enemies of the Queen, having at an after period, thrown the blame upon her, for ſuffering Bothwell to eſcape, a thing incredible in itſelf, as they were perfect maſters of the field, it may be acceptable to the reader, to tranſcribe the following paſſage from the anſwer made by her Commiſſioners in her name. "They (the confederates) being in battle-array againſt her Majeſty, ſent the Laird of Grange to her Highneſs; and deſired her Grace to cauſe the Earl Bothwell leave the field, alleging him ſuſpected of the ſaid crime, (the murder of Darnly) till the time the cauſe might be tried; and that her Grace would paſs with them, and uſe the counſel of her Nobility, and they ſhould honour, ſerve and obey her Majeſty as their Princeſs and Sovereign: And upon their promiſe, in order to avoid bloodſhed, her Majeſty conſented thereto, and paſſed with the ſaid Laird of Grange to them, who at the ſame time, took the Earl Bothwell by the hand, and bade him depart, promiſing that no man ſhould follow nor purſue him; and ſo by their own conſent he paſſed away: And if they had been minded to purſue him only, they would not have left the doing of all diligence poſſible, by means of which he might have been taken; but from the time they had got her Majeſty's perſon in their hands, they made no travel nor purſuit againſt him, ſo long as he was in the country near them, where he remained a great ſpace, &c." Goodall, II. 164,—166.

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ing of his former trial; but which they knew, they could not do with ſafety to themſelves, as he might reveal his accomplices. He quietly paſſed ſome weeks, in the neighbourhood of the ſpot where this dark and perfidious ſcene took place; and afterward, fearing probably a ſudden onſet or an aſſaſſination, he ſet out to a diſtance, in queſt of ſome iſſue to his deſperate fortunes.

Having now come to that period of Queen Mary's hiſtory, at which, if we except the ſhort ſpace of two weeks, immediately ſubſequent to her eſcape from the priſon of Lochleven, afterward to be mentioned, ſhe loſt her liberty for life; it may be proper to make a ſhort pauſe, and to take under our review the cauſes which were aſſigned by her enemies for depriving her of the Royal authority. Not that there is any doubt as to the real motive upon which they acted, which moſt certainly was to uſurp the government themſelves, and for this purpoſe to hold her in perpetual captivity, if not to put her to death; but that, the mere pretext which they uſed, of her being under the abſolute direction of Bothwell, in conſequence of a devoted and romantic paſſion for him, has been adopted by writers in after times as an hiſtorical truth; and upon which they have built their ſyſtems with reſpect to the demerits of this diſtinguiſhed Perſonage. This point

point comes properly to be conſidered, in a work, in which I have had for one of its main objects, the developing of the true character of Mary Queen of Scots.

Her reign written by hiſtorians of the preſent age, has juſtly gained more credit, than that which was compoſed, either by her friends or by her adverſaries, in her own times. The reaſon is, that the former have judged more from the facts than from the opinions which were tranſmitted to them. But in one thing they ſeem to have failed, In admitting to be facts what were only idle ſurmiſes or popular aſperſions; without diſtinguiſhing between appearances and realities. The account of Queen Mary's loves, is what I allude to, and which they ſeem to have taken as they got it, without ſufficiently attending to collateral facts, the guides which in other caſes, they had with ſo much judgment ſet up for their direction. Hence do we find at this day, almoſt the ſame terms made uſe of, that were employed by her moſt virulent and malicious enemies in her own times. *Inordinate affection*, is a phraſe which has been handed down from hiſtorian to hiſtorian. A violent and almoſt preternatural love for a notorious reprobate, is aſſerted to have ſeized a wife, an orderly and a religious Princeſs. No perſon indeed, will diſpute that Queen Mary was capable of the ſentiment of love; but that from a

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headlong phrenſy of that paſſion, ſhe eſpouſed Bothwell, or even Darnly, is not left to be controverted by theory: It is contradicted by thoſe indiſputable facts already ſtated, which hold out very different reaſons for her conduct.

Were it not for ſuch ſtrong aſſertions, we ſhould hence have been at a loſs to divine, from what cauſes this Princeſs could have been thought to be a perſon, who was extravagantly apt to indulge the paſſion of love. If indeed there were ſuch a thing in human nature, that women were diſpoſed, in proportion to their beauty and to the admiration they receive, to give an indulgence of this kind, we might readily conceive, that Mary Queen of Scots would furniſh a ſingular example, in this reſpect. But without ſtopping to ſpeculate upon this point, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that from the facts recorded in hiſtory, there have been many inſtances of women of the fineſt forms, and who have attracted a general admiration, but who have notwithſtanding, diſcovered an almoſt total inſenſibility to love *. Not that

* The elegiac poets, the writers of romance, and romantic lovers in general, have conſiderably multiplied the number of ſuch inſtances. Groundleſsly cheriſhing the hopes of a mutual love, they have, when diſappointed of a return, loaded the objects of their paſſion, with bitter reproaches. *Cruel*, and even *unnatural*, are the epithets they have employed upon ſuch occaſions. The lovers of the ſhepherdeſs

that it is, in the ſmalleſt degree, inſinuated, that Mary Queen of Scots, was a perſon of this deſcription: At the ſame time, there appears

ſhepherdeſs Marcela, in Don Quixote, who died unpitied at her feet, charged her with the moſt ſingular barbarity. "Heaven, (ſaid ſhe, in the beginning of a long and eloquent reply to them), has, as you ſay, made me beautiful; and to ſuch a degree, that my beauty compels you to love me. And on account of this love to me, you ſay and inſiſt, that it is my duty to love you. I know indeed, by the help of that natural ſenſe which God has given me, that whatever is beautiful is lovely; but I do not comprehend, that a perſon who is beloved, becauſe beautiful, is obliged to return love for love."

The account given of the French gentleman Chatelard, in the hiſtory of Queen Mary, bears ſome reſemblance to what is related of the ſhepherds, in Don Quixote. This man was of a good family, had an attractive perſon, and elegant accompliſhments; wrote excellent verſes, which were admired by the Queen; and appears to have figured at the Court of Scotland, both as a ſcholar and as a fine gentleman. Fatally the charms of Mary made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, as to blind all ſenſe of propriety and diſcretion. The natural affability and graciouſneſs of her manners ſeem to have miſled him. He hid himſelf in her bed-chamber, and upon being diſcovered by the domeſtics, was diſgraced; but afterward, received a pardon. Upon repeating the attempt, the Queen gave him up to juſtice. This infatuated man appears to have acted, at laſt, even againſt his own convictions. His unſucceſsful attempts, not only ſhewed to others, that he had miſtaken Queen Mary's character, but the very ideas which he himſelf came to entertain of it, were enough to have daſhed his own criminal hopes. In a fine elegiac ſonnet, which he wrote prior to his fatal project, he ſpeaks of falling a victim to her beauty and cruelty. His burning paſſion, he ſaid, met with no returns from her breaſt: "Trees, rocks and marble, all nature, knows my pain, but You who are gratified with

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appears to be no ground whatever for viewing her in the oppoſite light. Her beauty was ſo great, that no perſon, it is ſaid by thoſe who ſaw her, could look upon her without admiration and love; and yet there is no creditable evidence, that her natural diſpoſition led her, in any degree more than uſual and innocent in her ſex, to the indulgence of tender deſires.

Her ſenſibilities, which were keen, appear to have been directed to other objects. She had a ſpirit, which, although gentle, was hardy: Her frame, ſeems even to have been characterized leſs for ſoftneſs, than for ſtrength. The calamities which overwhelm moſt perſons, made but little impreſſion, if we ſpeak comparatively, upon this Princeſs.

Her enemies gave out, that ſhe had reſigned her Crown to her ſon, while a priſoner in Lochlevin Caſtle, from a diſtreſs both of body and mind: Conſequences not at all unlikely to have happened to many, in ſuch

my torment." When carried to the ſcaffold, he turned to that quarter where he ſuppoſed the Queen to be, called out aloud, "Adieu, O moſt beautiful and cruel Princeſs of the world!" and reſolutely ſtretched forth his neck to the executioner. Whether or not, there may have been more perſons than Chatelard, who have entertained ſuch fancies about Queen Mary, is not aſſerted; but the ſtrange ideas with reſpect to her character, on this point, leave us at a loſs to conjecture upon what elſe they may have been founded.

ſuch a ſituation; as they ſo often ſucceed to great misfortunes. And yet Murray himſelf, who viſited her there, two or three weeks only after the reſignation, ſaid, "That he never ſaw the Queen in better health nor in better point *." BOOK III.

Dangers and diſaſters, ſeem to have had only the effect of making her collect herſelf, and of animating her to meet them: A phenomenon frequent in her ſtory; and at the ſame time, nowiſe incompatible with gentleneſs. The Viſcount Falkland, a great character in hiſtory, was diſtinguiſhed (to uſe the words of Lord Clarendon) by "a moſt incomparable gentleneſs;" while along with this, as the ſame noble author remarks, "he had a courage ſo far from fear, that he ſeemed not without ſome appetite of danger †." Something ſimilar to this, is related in a diſpatch from Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knollis to Queen Elizabeth concerning the Queen of Scots, at that time their priſoner in the caſtle of Carliſle; and whom they apprehended, it would be exceedingly difficult to keep under their cuſtody. "She ſhews a readineſs (ſaid they) to expoſe herſelf to all perils in hope of victory. She deſires much to hear of hardineſs and valour;

* Keith, 447. [*Point* is a French word, ſignifying, condition or ſtate of body.]

† Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. ii. book 7.

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lour; commending by name all approved brave men of her country, although they be her enemies, and concealing no cowardice even in her friends. For victory's ſake, pain and peril ſeem pleaſant to her; wealth and all things, contemptible and vile *."

To the inſtances formerly mentioned of her activity and vigour, may be added what we read in Knox's hiſtory, relating to her enterpriſe againſt Murray, immediately after her marriage with Darnly. The Queen and her army, it is ſaid there, "early in the morning, before the ſun was riſen, began to march; but there aroſe ſuch a vehement tempeſt of wind and rain from the weſt, as the like had not been ſeen before of a long time; ſo that a little brook turned immediately into a great river; and the raging ſtorm being in their faces, with great difficulty they went forward; and although the moſt part waxed weary, yet the Queen's courage increaſed manlike ſo much, that ſhe was ever with the foremoſt. There were divers perſons drowned that day in the water of Carron †."

This much ſeems to be certain, that this Princeſs is not to be characterized as a perſon of an amorous diſpoſition. With regard to levity and indecorum, no hiſtorian fit to be credited, makes mention of them. The epithets *incontinent* and *libidinous*, which chaſte hiſtory

* Anderſon, iv. 71, 72. † Knox, 382.

hiſtory will ever uſe with reluctance, and which the whole tyranny and popularity of Queen Elizabeth were not able to ſecure *her* from, are altogether excluded from the hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scots. While the ſlanders with reſpect to the extravagant paſſion for Bothwell with which ſhe is charged, are contradicted by her character, and by all the facts which are recorded in her life, it may be farther added, that had Queen Mary been a perſon apt to fall in love, it is very unlikely that ſhe would have caſt her eyes upon that man, who, although he is ſaid to have had a good figure, appears to have been awkward and ill-looking, in a very remarkable degree. Brantome, who probably had often ſeen him, relates, that he was "the ugliеſt and moſt ungraceful man, that one could behold *."

It

* Jebb, ii. 486. The author of Crawford's Memoirs, however, and who probably alſo had ſeen Bothwell, ſpeaks of him, as "one of the handſomeſt men of his time, and well made." Mem. 53. There ſeems no other way of reconciling the accounts given by theſe writers, both of whom are entitled to credit, but by ſuppoſing, that Brantome alludes to the countenance and manner of Bothwell, while in Crawford's Memoirs, the reference is to quite different points, his ſtature and ſhapes. Buchanan, who likewiſe had many opportunities of ſeeing him, obſerves, that ſuch was the face, the gait and whole demeanour of Bothwell, that no perſon who had ſeen him, could have thought it poſſible for the Queen to conceive a paſſion for him. Buchanan indeed, by this obſervation, expreſsly meant to render her the

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It has indeed been admitted, that we are not to judge of Queen Mary, from the circumſtance of her connexion with Bothwell, as that formed no part of her character; and that ſhe ought to be conſidered, at that time, as a perſon under the influence of ſome mental derangement. The words of Mr Hume are memorable. "To form a *juſt* idea of her character (ſays he) we muſt ſet aſide one part of her conduct, while ſhe abandoned herſelf to the guidance of a profligate man."—"This Princeſs recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good ſenſe, from that *delirium* in which ſhe ſeems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwell, behaved with ſuch modeſty, judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her, was charmed with her demeanour." It ſeems to follow from theſe paſſages, that the illuſtrious

more odious, from falling in love with ſuch a man; and moſt probably has, for that reaſon, exaggerated the account of him. At the ſame time, as he appeals, for the truth of what he wrote, to perſons ſtill alive at that period, we can hardly imagine but that there was ſome conſiderable ground for the picture he drew. It may be acceptable to the reader to ſubjoin Buchanan's own words. "Quem amorem (he is ſpeaking of the Queen's love for Bothwell) qui non viderit, illum (Bothuelium) autem viderit, incredibilem fortaſſis opinabitur. Quid enim erat in eo, quod mulieri paulum honeſtiori concupiſcendum foret? De forma, non eſt opus oratione longa: cum et qui eum viderint, vultus, et inceſſus, corporiſque totius qui fuerit habitus, meminiſſe poſſint." Buchanan apud Jebb. i. 255.

ous hiſtorian, had been under no little difficulty about the judgment he was to form here of Queen Mary; and in order to account for her conduct, had recourſe to what is beyond the limits of the mind in a perfectly ſound ſtate. No other explication indeed (if it be true that ſhe was really in love with Bothwell) can be hearkened to, than Mr Hume's. How far, what has been ſuggeſted in the courſe of this hiſtory, upon very different ideas, is juſt, the Public will determine. BOOK III.

We return now to the thread of the hiſtory, at that period, when the Queen of Scots ſeparated from Bothwell at Carberry-hill. While this parting ſcene drew from her no expreſſion of tenderneſs, nor even of regret, it was without any joy that ſhe came over to the army of the confederates. The leading perſons among them, ſhe knew, were her deadly foes; and the promiſes of duty made by them, upon committing herſelf to their faith and allegiance, they inſtantly broke. Bothwell, on the other hand, had it ſtill in his power, and might be more diſpoſed now than formerly, to divulge every thing which could tend to her prejudice. This ſealed her lips as cloſe as ever, with reſpect to the part which he had acted in the murder of the late King; and alſo made her not liſten to a ſcheme for a divorce from himſelf: For a propoſition of this kind, and which

BOOK III. which was actually made by her particular enemies, becauſe they knew it could not ſucceed, and beſides gave them a ſpecious plea for acting againſt her, upon objecting to it, If countenanced by her, might have irritated Bothwell to every ſtep of revenge, which a mind, made up of all that was conſummately nefarious, could take.

In ſuch a thick ſcene of misfortune, of violence and of villany, round and round her, was the Queen of Scots now placed. Murray, who purpoſely left the country ſome time before this *, but who notwithſtanding conducted all affairs within it, againſt her, had now got rid of Darnly; had raiſed up and brought down Bothwell, a matter which perhaps his reach of foreſight held to be eaſy, as proved to be the caſe; and had impriſoned the Queen herſelf, the chief of the three againſt whom his aims were pointed. The Queen only remained; but in fetters. Such a ſituation, promiſed, of itſelf, without farther means, to be ſufficient to break her ſpirit, and to terminate her life. The ſorrows of Queen Mary beſides, were confined to her own boſom, and deprived of all that mitigation, which the miſerable receive from imparting them to friends. But this Princeſs ſeems almoſt never to have been without ſupport from her own mind: Not that ſhe was inſenſible to calamity, but that ſhe poſſeſſed

* April 9. 1579.

poſſeſſed an unſubdued ſpirit, till the laſt moment of her life. At preſent, ſhe waited the firſt opportunity which ſhould preſent, to iſſue undauntedly forth againſt Murray and the whole of his confederacy.

That the conſtant buſineſs of her enemies, at this period, was to make it believed, that ſhe had felt, and ſtill perſevered, in an inordinate paſſion for Bothwell, was only a pretence for not reſtoring her to that dominion which they themſelves had now uſurped. For this purpoſe, inſtantly upon committing herſelf to the confederate lords, they forged a letter in her name to Bothwell, alleged to have been written, the very night after the ſcene on Carberry hill; and the cauſe why next day ſhe was impriſoned; in which ſhe was made to expreſs a tender and indiſſoluble affection for that man. This letter, although it was ſoon ſuppreſſed by her adverſaries themſelves, conſcious, that it could not bear the light *, and therefore never mentioned by the moſt violent of them, in the after accuſations they brought againſt the Queen, yet the impreſſion it made at the time, in carrying off the brave Kirkaldy of Grange from his Sovereign, operated much to her diſadvantage. Melvil, who is the writer that mentions this letter and its effects,

* Being the production of a few hours time, it was perhaps, very ill drawn up; and moſt probably bore no reſemblance either to her ſtyle or hand-writing.

BOOK III. facts, and who ſeems himſelf to have thought it to be genuine, has given ſuch a minute and circumſtantial account of its contents, and of various particulars which immediately followed upon it, partly between Kirkaldy and the confederates, partly between Kirkaldy and the Queen, that it is hardly poſſible to entertain any doubt with reſpect to the faithfulneſs of his memory, or the truth of his narrative *.

Having

* Melvil's Mem. 167, 168. As this letter eſtabliſhes a proof of forgery on the part of the confederates, and leads us, of itſelf, to ſuſpect, that all the other letters in her name to Bothwell, were alſo forgeries, it may be proper to tranſcribe the whole paſſage relating to it from Melvil's Memoirs. "That ſame night it was alleged, that her Majeſty did write a letter to the Earl of Bothwell, and promiſed a reward to one of her keepers, to convey it ſafely to Dunbar to the ſaid Earl, calling him *dear Heart*, whom ſhe would never forget nor abandon, though ſhe was neceſſitated to be abſent from him for the time; ſaying, that ſhe had ſent him a way only for his ſafety, willing him to be comforted, and be upon his guard: Which letter the knave delivered to the Lords, though he had promiſed the contrary. Upon which letter, the Lords took occaſion to ſend her to Lochlevin to be kept: Which ſhe alleged was contrary to promiſe. They, on the other hand, affirmed, that by her own hand-writing, ſhe had declared, that ſhe had not, nor would not abandon the Earl of Bothwell. Grange again excuſed her, alleging ſhe had in effect abandoned the ſaid Earl; that it was no wonder that ſhe gave him yet a few fair words, not doubting, but if ſhe were diſcreetly handled, and humbly admoniſhed, (as to) what inconveniencies that man had brought upon her, ſhe would by degrees be brought, not only to leave him, but ere long to deteſt him: And therefore he adviſed to deal gently with her. But they ſaid, that it

Having found it to be a difficult and hazardous matter to write letters in her name, they had recourſe next to other means, where BOOK III.

it ſtood them upon their lives and lands, and that therefore in the mean time they behoved to ſecure her; and when that time came, that ſhe ſhould be known to abandon and deteſt the Earl Bothwell, it would be then time to reaſon upon the matter. Grange was yet ſo angry, that had it not been for the letter, he had inſtantly left them: And, for the next beſt, he uſed all poſſible diligence to make her and them both quit of the ſaid Earl, cauſing to make ready two ſhips to follow after him, who had fled to the caſtle of Dunbar, and from thence to Shetland. In the mean time, her Majeſty ſent a letter to Grange, lamenting her hard uſage, and ſhewing him that promiſes had been broken to her. To which he anſwered, that he had already reproached the Lords for the ſame; who ſhewed to him a letter ſent by her to the Earl of Bothwell, promiſing, among many other fair and comfortable words, never to abandon or forget him; which had ſtopped his mouth, marvelling that her Majeſty conſidered not, that the ſaid Earl could never be her lawful huſband, being ſo lately before married to another, whom he had deſerted without any juſt ground, although he had not been ſo hated for the murder of the King her huſband: And therefore he requeſted her Majeſty to put him clean out of mind, ſeeing otherwiſe ſhe could never get the love or reſpect of her ſubjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwiſe ſhe might expect. It contained many other loving and humble admonitions, which made her bitterly to weep: For ſhe could not do that ſo haſtily, which proceſs of time might have accompliſhed." Either the whole matter of the above paſſage, was the pure dream and fiction of Melvil's brain, which is inconceivable; or, there was actually forged by the confederates, ſuch a letter to Bothwell. From the facts mentioned in it, it appears, that Kirkaldy had not been in the plot for dethroning his Royal Miſtreſs, and was impoſed upon, as likewiſe was Melvil himſelf, by what her enemies gave out with reſpect to her paſſion for Bothwell.

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where it could not be ſo eaſy to convict them of fabrications. This was by forging ſpeeches. Theſe, it ſhould ſeem, from the effects they produced, had been circulated wide, and particularly reported to thoſe whom it was of moſt moment to impoſe upon. Among ſuch was Throkmorton, the Engliſh Ambaſſador in Scotland; and whom they ſuffered to have no perſonal acceſs to the Queen. In a letter which he wrote at this period* to his miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, he relates, that ſo far as he could perceive, the rigour ſhewn to the captive Queen by the confederates, was becauſe ſhe would by no means lend her authority to proſecute the murderers of Darnly, nor conſent, by any perſuaſion, to abandon Bothwell for her huſband; "but avows conſtantly that ſhe will live and die with him; and ſays, that if it were put to her choice to relinquiſh her crown and kingdom, or the Lord Bothwell, ſhe would leave her kingdom and dignity to go as a ſimple damſel with him †."

Had any perſon ſat down to ſtudy a ſpeech for Queen Mary, with a view, completely to reverſe her character, and to give the lie to her whole life, he could hardly have made her expreſs herſelf more to his purpoſe. That, credit ſhould have been given, by many perhaps at the time, and even after it, to ſuch tales, may however be accounted

* July 14. 1567. † Principal Robertſon's Appendix, 447.

ed for. The Queen was kept in ſuch a ſtrict ſtate of bondage, that ſhe had no opportunity to diſavow, nor probably even to hear of, what was aſcribed to her; and beſides, it was almoſt incredible to ſuppoſe, that any body of men, eſpecially perſons of rank and reputation, could be ſo baſe as to practiſe impoſitions of ſuch a kind. The true character of Princes, it muſt alſo be obſerved, is often but little known in their own days; and cannot even be rightly underſtood, till the factions and party-ſpirit, which ſometimes, for ages, ſurvive them, have come to an end. BOOK III.

The confederates not only acted a feigned part for their Queen, but alſo for themſelves. In order to give a greater air of truth to their repreſentations, they, the very men who had impriſoned and traduced her, with ſolemn craft, affected upon occaſions, to talk dutifully and loyally of their Sovereign. "They ſpeak of her, ſays Throkmorton, with reſpect and reverence; and affirm, that if the murder were enquired into, and a divorce to take place, they would reſtore her both to her liberty and crown *." When the Queen heard at laſt, of what had been ſpread abroad in her name, and which ſeems not to have been the caſe, till after her flight into England, ſhe inſtructed her commiſſioners

* Principal Robertſon's Appendix, 447.

BOOK III. miſſioners expreſsly to contradict it*: A meaſure which neither ſhe nor they could have attempted, had it been in the power of her enemies to bring proofs to the contrary.

There is little doubt, at the ſame time, that the Queen of Scots, however falſe the accounts of her paſſion for Bothwell, was in reality, for the reaſons already mentioned, backward to authorize any ſteps to be taken for procuring a divorce from him. What Bothwell had it in his power to divulge againſt her, if he found cauſe, had made ſuch an impreſſion upon her mind, that, Till near two years after he had fled the kingdom, and being a priſoner in Denmark, was not likely to give her any farther alarm; Till the Duke of Norfolk, a Nobleman the moſt powerful and popular in thoſe days, propoſed a marriage with her, which was ſeconded by Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters, and by the greater part of the Nobility of England; Till Murray and his partiſans in Scotland, the very perſons who had accuſed her of the King's murder, and from being the friends or inſtigators of Bothwell, had become his enemies, joined, although unſincerely, in favouring that propoſal, Queen Mary, as afterward will be mentioned, would take no ſteps for a divorce.

Meanwhile,

* Goodall, II. 165.

Meanwhile, during her impriſonment in the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſhe endured thoſe inſults and deſpotical barbarities, which rebels againſt Government, almoſt always, when ſucceſsful, commit. The perſon to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was given up, was brother to Murray by the mother's ſide: The mother herſelf reſiding in the ſame place, had daily the opportunity, not only to mortify the Queen by her very preſence, but frequently took occaſion to mention, that ſhe was the lawful wife of James V. and her ſon Murray, the heir of the Crown *. On purpoſe to deprive the captive Princeſs of all knowledge of the friendly ſentiments both of her ſubjects and of foreign Princes: To put her in a ſituation forlorn and deſperate, cut off almoſt from human ſociety; no Ambaſſador, nor any perſon whatever, but ſuch as had a licence, or who belonged to the family of the keeper, was ſuffered to ſpeak with her †. On pain of being immediately put to death, ſhe was compelled to reſign her Crown to her ſon, and to appoint Murray to be Regent; but although this deed, could nowiſe be binding upon her, as it was the effect of force, it ſtruck ſo directly againſt the ſtrongeſt paſſion in her breaſt, as to plunge her into the moſt bitter diſtreſs, ſhe could feel ‡.

* Crawfurd, 49. † Keith, 444.

‡ July 24. 1567. Anderſon, III. 19. Crawfurd, 45.

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As if all this were inſufficient to bring her to the grave, Murray, who had left France, with promiſes to the Court there, to befriend the Queen of Scots upon his return home, made, without delay, a viſit to her at Lochlevin *; memorable for the cruelty and the craft which he diſcovered. The object he had in view, was to obtain what might better paſs for her free conſent to his being Regent; ſenſible, that what ſhe had hitherto done on that head, would be conſidered as the effect of compulſion. To bring this about, he propoſed, as the firſt ſtep, to threaten her with extreme puniſhment for the crimes laid to her charge. For this purpoſe, after ſtudiouſly, for a time, maintaining reſerve about what was to be her fate, he proceeded explicitly to brand her with the loſs of honour and reputation; and at laſt, informed her, that it was reſolved, to put her to death †. No wonder, Queen Mary gave way to indignation and tears; and in this dreadful ſituation, was ſhe left for a night; enough, one might ſuppoſe, to have been her laſt. Next day, relaxing, or rather ſeeming to do ſo, from his ſeverity, with conſummate guile, he acquainted the Queen that he would ſave her life ‡; not that he had really ſuch an intention, but in order to draw from her, expreſſions of gratitude and of voluntary concurrence

* Aug. 15. 1567. † Keith, 445. ‡ Ibid.

currence in his appointment to the Regency, of which he might avail himſelf in the eyes of the public.

Almoſt upon no occaſion did the Queen of Scots exert ſuch a degree of addreſs. Her life was at ſtake; and, prompted by neceſſity, ſhe employed every means to ſuſpend the blow which at preſent threatened her; truſting to good fortune, and to her own ingenuity, ſoon to make an eſcape and to reſume the ſceptre, ſo treacherouſly and violently wreſted from her hands. With theſe views, ſhe immediately took Murray into her arms as her deliverer, and eagerly preſſed the Regency upon him. That elevated ſtation, long the object of his heart, and which indeed he was already in poſſeſſion of, he affected for ſome time to refuſe; ſtated many reaſons for his doing ſo; and at laſt, with ſeeming difficulty, conſented to accept. Embracing Murray again, the Queen committed to him her all; her Crown, her life and her ſon *.

Nothing was farther, at the ſame time, from her mind, than any confidence in him. Her diſcernment was ſo deep, and her attention ſo vigilant, that ſhe was rather apt to give too little than too much credit to her enemies. After all the ſeemingly oppoſite appearances in this ſcene at Lochlevin, Melvil relates the truth, That ſhe had leſs faith

* Keith, 445, 446.

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than ever to put in Murray: Indeed, that all faith whatever, was at an end. "The thread of love and credit, between the Queen and him, (ſays he), was cut for ever *." This explains, what ſoon will be related, why, upon her diſcomfiture, after her eſcape from Lochlevin, rather than fall again under the power of Murray, ſhe committed herſelf to the mercy, even of Queen Elizabeth.

Her conduct was different to the Earls of Athole and Morton, who accompanied Murray when he made this viſit. From theſe Noblemen ſhe had leſs to fear, as they had leſs ill in their power to commit: To them therefore ſhe ſpoke more plainly. "My Lords, (ſaid ſhe, at the ſame time, in an amicable manner, taking leave of them), you have had experience of my ſeverity, and of the end of it; I pray you alſo, let me find, that you have learned by me to make an end of yours, or at leaſt, that you *can* make an end of it †." In theſe words, which Throkmorton thought worthy of preſerving, we recognize the ſpirit and the powers of Queen Mary. The tone is dignified and commanding: The inſinuation, at the cloſe, ſo ſingularly pointed, would not fail to be underſtood by Morton, the perſon, whom probably, the Queen had particularly in her eye.

Placed

* Melvil, 174. † Keith, 446.

Placed in the ſituation we have already deſcribed, in the very hands of Murray and Morton, even when they were abſent, as the near relations of theſe men were her keepers; ſecluded from all intercourſe with her friends; and doomed to live in a ſmall iſland in the middle of a lake, It ſeemed hardly within the bounds of poſſibility, that the Queen of Scots ſhould be able to effectuate an eſcape. But exceſs of rigour often defeats the very purpoſes it means to ſerve. The injuries this Princeſs ſuſtained from the Regent on his firſt viſit to her at Lochlevin, had incurred the blame of Sir James Melvil, and of others of his own friends; on which account, ſays he, "we loſt his favour *." Her afflictions, at laſt, excited commiſeration, where it was leaſt expected to be felt. George Douglas, brother of her very keeper, and alſo of Murray himſelf by the mother's ſide, ſacrificed both his own intereſts and the credit of his friends, in order to deliver her from captivity. He, in the firſt place, procured, that the Queen's letters ſhould be ſafely tranſmitted to her friends; and at laſt, rowed her, himſelf, aſhore †.

In undertaking this eſcape, Douglas was partly influenced by the proſpect of gain, as well as by ſympathy. Having been heard to ſay, that no reward was too great

* Melvil, 174. † May 2. 1568.

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for the man who ſhould relieve the Queen from her diſtreſſes, ſhe ſtudied his particular character and diſpoſitions, in order to diſcover what kind of return for ſuch a ſervice would be moſt acceptable to him; and finding out his bias, ſhe ſoon took an opportunity to offer him the greater part of the gold and jewels ſhe had about her; and alſo promiſed a ſum of money of much greater value, upon her freedom being accompliſhed *.

Inſtantly

* Crawfurd, 63, 64. Notwithſtanding of this account, given by an able, well informed and contemporary writer, and which has the ſupport even of Buchanan, xix. 5.; it having been conceived, that the Queen allured Douglas by the hopes of getting her hand in marriage, it is proper to lay before the reader, the grounds upon which that idea, ſeems to have been formed. A Sir William Drury, Marſhal of the garriſon of Berwick, wrote, on the 3d of April 1568, to Cecil, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, that at a ſecond viſit of Murray's to the Queen of Scots in Lochlevin, "ſhe prayed him that ſhe might have a huſband; and named one to her liking, George Douglas, brother to the Laird of Lochlevin: To which the Earl replied, that he was over mean a marriage for her Grace; and ſaid farther, that he and the reſt of the Nobility would take advice thereupon." Keith, 469. This was the ſame Queen, whom Murray and his faction had ſlandered, a few months before, for entertaining an indiſſoluble love for Bothwell. Here, they would repreſent her, as almoſt ſatisfied with captivity, provided ſhe got any perſon, even a private obſcure gentleman, for a huſband. So much were her enemies always bent to belie her, although in a very contradictory and ridiculous manner, as having an extreme propenſity for the ſexual pleaſures. Drury, whom they impoſed upon with

Inſtantly upon her eſcape from Lochlevin, where ſhe had been impriſoned for more than ten months, the Queen of Scots, with all her wonted celerity and vigour, took meaſures for re-inſtating herſelf upon the throne, and for bringing her enemies to a ſtate of ſubjection and duty. Partly, from ſentiments of loyalty and of perſonal attachment to their Sovereign; partly, from hatred of Murray and a deteſtation at the cruelties he had committed, a great body of the Nobles and of their followers flock-

with this tale, ſeems to have been ſomewhat ſurpriſed that the Queen did not actually eſpouſe George Douglas after ſhe recovered her liberty. "I hear (ſays he, in a letter to Cecil, of the 7th of May, five days after the Queen's eſcape) that George Douglas, notwithſtanding his great merit for her liberty, is now but little accounted of." Keith, 475.

It may be proper here to ſtate, in what terms Mary herſelf really ſpoke of her deliverer. In a letter of the 26th of June 1568 (which the reader will find in the ſecond appendix of this work) to Charles IX. King of France, ſhe ſhews, that ſhe was far from forgetting her obligations to Douglas; but at the ſame time, ſpeaks of him ſimply as her ſervant, or friend—"he gave a proof to me (ſays the Queen) of his being a faithful ſervant, having taken me out of the hands of our mortal enemies at the riſk of his own life, and the loſs of his neareſt relations. And as he deſires (as far as he can, to continue his ſervices to me) to remain for a time in your Court, I beſeech you to give him ſome token or aſſurance to let him know that he has done you a ſervice in ſaving my life. I will anſwer for his fidelity. He is under the neceſſity of ſeeking for a livelihood in France; for he may well give up his intereſt in Scotland, if I am not entirely the miſtreſs of it."

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ed to her ſtandard. To them, ſhe declared, that the reſignation ſhe had made of the Crown was extorted by force: On their part, they pronounced, in Council, that nothing ſhe had done under conſtraint was valid, or could have the force of law. Six days only after her eſcape, there appeared upon her ſide, nine Earls, nine Biſhops, eighteen Lords, twelve Abbots and Priors, about an hundred Gentlemen of the firſt diſtinction, and a body of ſix thouſand armed men. The French Ambaſſador remarked to Sir James Melvil, that he had never ſeen ſo many men convened ſo ſuddenly together. Nothing could be more vivid than the zeal which burſt forth: No expectations could be more ſanguine than what her friends entertained in her cauſe.

But theſe very circumſtances proved to be the ruin both of themſelves and of the Queen. She herſelf had reſolved to avoid coming to a battle with Murray's army, although it was only four thouſand ſtrong; to wait for ſome conſiderable ſpace of time, till ſhe could not only collect a greater number of forces, but regain the obedience of her ſubjects; to go in the mean while to the caſtle of Dunbarton as a place of ſafety; and even to agree to ſuch an accommodation with the enemy, as might prevent altogether the ſhedding of blood. But her friends had not the ſame judgment and moderation,

moderation. Dazzled with the thoughts of overcoming Murray, their own enemy as well as her's, nothing could reſtrain their impetuouſneſs. At the ſame time, they obſerved no caution; gave themſelves up to negligence and ſecurity; and deſpiſed the enemy, on account of their ſmaller number: Errors, among the moſt fatal that can be committed in the operations of war. Murray, on the other hand, had judgment ſufficient to ſee, that it was his intereſt to come to immediate action with the forces of the Queen, before they ſhould farther increaſe; and therefore, profiting by their folly, he embraced, at Langſide, near Glaſgow, the very firſt opportunity which offered, to engage *; the conſequence of which was, the immediate and total rout of the Queen's army. Three hundred were left dead on the ſpot; and more than that number were taken priſoners, among whom were many perſons of the firſt rank and diſtinction. One man only in the Regent's army was killed. The Queen, who, in perſon, beheld this deciſive conflict, "loſt all courage, (ſays Melvil) which ſhe had never done before;" and inſtantly fled with the utmoſt expedition to England.

Her flight to that kingdom, was among the moſt unfortunate ſteps in her life; and were we to judge by after events, a rule of all others

* May 13.

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thers the moſt uncertain and unfair, as what may in future times come to paſs, is uſually ſo much beyond the reach of human foreſight, this meaſure would fall to be condemned as extremely precipitate and unwiſe. But Queen Mary acted, as men, for the moſt part, and naturally, act; From the preſent ſtate and appearances of things. She knew beſides her ſituation at the time, probably better than any perſons, even her warmeſt friends did; and much more than we can do now. To fall again into the hands of Murray, or to commit herſelf to Queen Elizabeth, was the alternative which came under her deliberation. The exceſſive barbarity of the former ſhe had already experienced, while under his tyranny in the priſon of Lochlevin: Of the diſpoſitions of the latter, ſhe had as yet no ſimilar trial; and hardly could entertain the ſame apprehenſions. Elizabeth had condemned the conduct of Mary's enemies; had pleaded for her being ſet at liberty; expreſsly and repeatedly had invited her to take ſhelter in England; in that kingdom, to enjoy the protection and friendſhip of a couſin and of a ſiſter Queen *.

All the while, and long before this, the Queen of Scots was well acquainted with the duplicity of the Engliſh Queen; with her jealouſy, her envy and her hatred. But what

* Anderſon, iv. 99. 120.

what could ſhe do in this emergence? Neceſſity left her no choice. The queſtion with this Princeſs, was not, Whether it were ſafe to go to England; But whether it were ſafer to go thither, than to continue in Scotland? In her own country, it was impoſſible to remain: The moment her very lurking-place ſhould be found out, ſhe was undone. Queen Mary hence reſolved upon inſtantly leaving her own dominions, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of ſome of her friends, even upon their knees, to the contrary: Not that ſhe hoped for more friendſhip by this change of place; but that ſhe expected to meet with leſs rudeneſs, rigour and atrocity. Enormities would not be immediately perpetrated againſt her, as would have been the caſe in Scotland: An interval to breathe and to reſt, would be obtained: Opportunities might preſent, of exerciſing not only her addreſs with the Engliſh Queen, abundantly diſpoſed to maintain the cauſe of Sovereigns, but of uſing her intereſt with foreign Powers, to re-eſtabliſh her upon the throne of Scotland.

Along with this ſtate of affairs, from which no hopes of ſucceſs, nor even of ſecurity, could, for a time be entertained in her native kingdom, Not only were her friends either ſlain, or taken priſoners, or utterly diſperſed; but other circumſtances of a diſagreeable, if not of an alarming nature, had occurred; and from the very quarter even,

BOOK III. even, of thoſe who had taken arms in her cauſe. The Royal authority had fallen low; not only in the eyes of the foes, but even of the friends of the Queen. As is the caſe, in general, in rebellions and civil wars, no perfect truſt was to be repoſed in any ſide. The minds of men are then unhinged: Law is diſregarded: Sentiments of duty, of honour and of faith are ſet aſide: All principle is loſt: A furious and horrible tyranny, under pretence of the public good, ſucceeds: Each faction aims at the ſupreme power; and that party, which is ſucceſsful, making a tool of the Sovereign to ſerve its own ends, often perpetrates acts of violence and of deſpotiſm, which abſolute Princes themſelves have ſeldom ventured to commit. Nearly in ſuch a ſituation, was Queen Mary, at this time, placed. Factions were contending againſt one another, with a view to their own particular intereſts; and but little obedience, paid even by the loyaliſts to the Crown. The intentions of the Queen to avoid a battle with the oppoſite army, were almoſt inſtantly over-ruled by her own friends the Hamiltons; and who beſides, had it not only in their eye, ſhould victory crown their arms, to keep the Queen in trammels; but even to oblige her to marry one of their Houſe *.

From

* It will not be unacceptable to the reader, to ſubjoin the following paſſage from Sir James Melvil's Memoirs;

From all theſe conſiderations taken together, we cannot wonder at the extreme alarm taken by the Queen; nor at the reſolution ſhe immediately formed of quitting the kingdom for a ſeaſon; although it were to expoſe herſelf ſtill to great uncertainties and perils. Her views muſt have been forlorn indeed, when ſhe ſet her feet upon ground that belonged to Queen Elizabeth.

THE

moirs; as he was not only on the ſpot; had particular acceſs to know the ſituation and the ſentiments of the Queen, and was a gentleman of honour and truth; but was at the ſame time, one of Murray's friends. "Her Majeſty (ſays he) was not minded to fight, nor hazard battle, but to go to the caſtle of Dunbarton, and endeavour, by little and little, to draw home again unto her obedience the whole ſubjects. But the Biſhop of St Andrew's, and the Houſe of Hamilton, and the reſt of the Lords there convened, finding themſelves in number far beyond the other party, would needs hazard a battle, thinking thereby to overcome the Regent their great enemy, and be alſo maſters of the Queen, to command and rule all at their pleaſure. Some alleged, that the Biſhop was minded to cauſe the Queen to marry my Lord Hamilton, in caſe they had obtained the victory. And I was ſince informed by ſome who were preſent, that the Queen herſelf feared the ſame; therefore ſhe preſſed them ſtill to convoy her to Dunbarton, and had ſent me word with the French Ambaſſador, the ſame morning before the battle, to draw on a meeting for Concord, by the means of the Secretary Lethington and the Laird of Grange; and for her part ſhe would ſend the Lord Herries and ſome other. She had alſo cauſed my brother Sir Robert to write a letter to me that ſame morning, for that ſame effect; but the Queen's army came on ſo fiercely, that there was no ſtay." Memoirs, 181.



THE

HISTORY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK IV.

The hiſtory of Queen Mary, from her flight into England, till her trial at Weſtminſter and Hampton-Court.

AFTER the flight of Queen Mary into England, where ſhe remained till her death, a captive for more than eighteen years, her hiſtory becomes not only more affecting, but perhaps more truly brilliant. The combined efforts of her enemies in the two kingdoms came at laſt to be fully exerted againſt her; and which, in a ſtate of bonds, ſhe long ſucceſſively, combated and foiled. While ſhe was expoſed to many and cruel

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cruel injuries, they did not overwhelm her: Adverſity ſeemed to have loſt its uſual force: All hiſtory bears witneſs to her ſingular patience, religious reſignation, and mildneſs, as well as fortitude: Her trials ſerved the more to illuſtrate, both her talents and her virtues.

Upon her arrival in the Engliſh dominions, ſhe loſt no time, and left no means untried, to ſecure her ſafety, to acquire intereſt and friends, and to bring about a reſtoration to the throne of Scotland. For this purpoſe, ſhe had alternately to expoſtulate with Queen Elizabeth, to flatter, and to reproach her. She carried on correſpondences with the Engliſh Nobles, and treaties with her friends on the Continent; and conducted herſelf in the charge which was early brought againſt her, with reſpect to the letters to Bothwell, not only with a majeſtic dignity, but with a victorious ability and ſkill.

In order to explain this laſt part of Queen Mary's hiſtory, the moſt momentous in her life, with regard to her honour, it is neceſſary to go back to its origin.

The confederate Lords, after they had impriſoned their Queen in Lochlevin, and ſtripped her of all royal authority, were far from eſcaping the ſuſpicion and odium which ſuch violent and treaſonable deeds excite. All the plea they had to urge, was, that

that it was neceſſary to take the ſceptre from her, becauſe ſhe was under the direction of Bothwell. But Bothwell in a ſhort time afterward, having been driven out of the kingdom, and hence in no ſituation to influence their Sovereign, they next, as has already been mentioned, obtained from herſelf a paper, in which ſhe renounced the ſovereignty altogether; and this, (as they alleged in her name) becauſe ſhe laboured under ſickneſs, and was tired of the cares of royalty. But they were ſenſible, at the ſame time, very few would imagine the reſignation of the Crown to be a voluntary deed upon her part; and would rather believe, what was the fact, that it had been extorted by force, and hence was invalid and null.

This rendered it neceſſary to deviſe ſome other means, than either of thoſe mentioned, to vindicate their uſurpation. Hence originated the new expedient of charging the Queen with the murder of her huſband; and this, by means of certain writings addreſſed to Bothwell, which they aſcribed to her; implying her guilt in that atrocious deed. Could this be eſtabliſhed as a fact, they might hold the reins more plauſibly in their hands; and even ſubject the Queen to a trial at law; the iſſue of which might deprive her of her life; at leaſt, of her liberty and Crown.

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The point which excites our ſurpriſe here, is, that they were ſo late in laying that fact, if it were one, before the public; as it would have tended ſo directly to her ruin, and to their own exculpation. The writings, according to their own account, had actually fallen into their hands, four days only after the Queen's impriſonment in Lochlevin; and yet it was not till above five months after that period, that they made any public uſe of them againſt her. When they compelled the Queen to reſign the Crown, which was poſterior to the alleged diſcovery, they did not charge her with thoſe letters, nor even mention them to her. When Murray made his viſit at Lochlevin, and reproached her, on ſo many other accounts, he was ſilent upon the ſame ſubject. Either ſurely, were her enemies, by reaſons very ſingularly ſtrong, intimidated at that time, from publiſhing ſuch fatal proofs of her guilt; Or, they had none to produce.

If they were intimidated, it could only be by Queen Mary's friends; or, perſonally, by herſelf. The friends of the Queen, were, in her own kingdom, chiefly the Houſe of Hamilton and its partiſans, as enemies of the confederates: The King of France, with ſome other powers on the Continent: And to theſe muſt be added, Queen Elizabeth herſelf, the friend of all Sovereigns whatſoever. Of theſe three, Elizabeth, however

ever perſonally and politically hoſtile to the Queen of Scots, was in reality, by far the moſt formidable, ſhould ſhe take part againſt the confederates: Abetted and ſupported by her, *they* were more than an overmatch for the other two. We have hence only, to confine our conſideration to the Engliſh Princeſs.

That ſhe was ſincerely and zealouſly diſpoſed to puniſh rebels, no perſon can doubt: But that ſhe was, at the ſame time, really inclined to reſtore Queen Mary to her honours and throne, there is no reaſon to believe. How to accompliſh the former, without employing the latter as a means, Was the difficulty.

The confederates ſaw clearly the ſpring of her reſentment; and felt the ſtrength of it. They had been ſtanding, in no other light, but that of violent and cruel uſurpers. That odious ſituation, ſoon prompted to them an expedient, by which they could aſſume, not only a leſs offenſive, but a legal, and even a popular ſhape. This was to commence accuſers of their Sovereign for heinous crimes; and to declare, that all they had done againſt her, was ſolely, on that account. Queen Elizabeth, we may believe, would be particularly gratified with this maſk, for it gave a very different baſis to the ſuperſtructure: In place of rebellion, it ſubſtituted motives of decency and duty and

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honour. After matters were thus to be ſet upon a new bottom, the confederates, ſo far from being intimidated on the part of the Engliſh Queen, they early * communicated to her, the diſcovery which they alleged they had made; and hiſtory immediately records, that ſhe fell from her reſentment.

With regard next to the Queen of Scots perſonally, what cauſe could fill the confederates with heſitation and fear? Should ſhe recover her royal dignity, they might indeed, be in no little danger, after ſuch an accuſation as that of adultery and murder, preferred by them againſt her. But they were in that very ſtate of danger already, from what they had perpetrated againſt her, prior to the very diſcovery of the writings. They were to be in the greateſt peril, at any rate, ſo ſoon as the ſceptre was again in her hands. If the confederates then were kept ſo long back in their motions, from a terror of Queen Mary, it could be from no cauſe that we know of, unleſs they conceived, that notwithſtanding ſhe was in their hands, impriſoned in a fort in the middle of a lake, ſhe had powers above human; and upon being appriſed, that ſuch a charge was to be brought againſt her, on the foundation of diſcovered letters, was able, at that time, to overwhelm the utmoſt efforts of their power, craft and violence,

* Keith, 424,—427.

violence. However highly they might think, and juſtly, of the Queen's abilities, there is no ground to imagine, they viewed her in that light.

The real cauſe hence, why the writings in queſtion were not made public, immediately upon their alleged diſcovery, we are led to conclude, was, That they were not at that time in exiſtence. The Queen might have demanded a ſight of them; and her enemies would have been embarraſſed by a requiſition which they could neither grant nor refuſe

Meanwhile, they found it neceſſary to prepare them as ſoon as poſſible, in order to vindicate their conduct to Parliament, and to wipe off that ſuſpicion and odium which they had incurred, both in the eyes of the Engliſh Queen, and of the great body of the public in both nations. As to the regency which they had uſurped, they were under little apprehenſion: The Queen's party was weak; and they themſelves had little doubt of obtaining the approbation of Parliament. The hands which had ſeized the regency were maintaining it; becoming ſtronger and ſtronger; and Queen Mary herſelf had, to appearance, confirmed that meaſure. The odium, not the ſecurity of their power, hence weighed moſt with them. Yet ſo difficult was the fabrication of the writings, that many months elapſed, before they

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got them in any ſort, fit for being expoſed. Nor can we wonder at this; it was apprehended, we may believe, that theſe writings might poſſibly undergo a very critical review; be examined in Scotland, England and Europe; And what perhaps was more formidable, By Queen Mary herſelf.

At laſt, the Regent Murray produced the writings; and laid them, firſt before a meeting of the Privy-council *; and next, before the Parliament of Scotland †. There, they were found to be genuine ‡; to infer criminality; and to vindicate all the previous ſteps which had been taken againſt the Sovereign. At the ſame time, the Queen was not heard in the cauſe; ſhe was ſtill in priſon; nor does it appear that ſhe knew any thing at all of thoſe proceedings.

Neither do we find that any examination or ſcrutiny was made into them, by the friends of the Queen, many of whom were preſent in that Parliament. The cauſe of this, was the weakneſs of the party; and beſides it is affirmed, in a paper ſigned by a great part of the Nobility and Clergy of Scotland, that they were apprehenſive about her life, ſhould any reſiſtance or ſtruggle be made

* December 4. 1567.

† December 15.

‡ The particular proofs that they were forged, will be laid at large before the reader, in the Examination of thoſe writings, which follows this Hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scots.

made on their part; her enemies having, in that caſe, banded together to cut her off*. The life of the Queen being in immediate danger, there was no alternative in the choice of her friends: They gave way to what they were unable to contend with; and nothing proves more clearly, what is repreſented as dubious by ſome, The ſuperior ſtrength of the rebels, at this, as well as at other times. BOOK IV.

So, theſe affairs might have ended, as probably was looked for; had not the eſcape of the Queen from Lochlevin, her flight ſoon after into another kingdom, and her call up-

* Goodall, II. 355. and 360. "The Princeſs being holden in captivity in Lochlevin, which could not be won, in reſpect of the ſtrength and ſituation of it,—in caſe the Noblemen, favourers of her Majeſty, had raiſed an army to that effect, it was menaced and boaſted, that they ſhould ſend her head to them.—For ſafety of her Highneſs's life, her Majeſty's favourers ceaſed to put themſelves in armour. ——There was nothing done in their Parliament that might prejudge the Queen's honour in any ſort, her Grace never having been called nor accuſed of the murder. For what was done, it was not to declare her Grace guilty of any crime, which of reaſon nowiſe could be done againſt her Majeſty uncalled, but only an act made for ſafety of themſelves from forfeiture, who treaſonably put hands on her Majeſty—founding their proceedings upon juſt meaning, as they alleged; which ſundry Noblemen that were her Grace's favourers, then preſent, bore withal, moſt principally for ſafety of her Grace's life, which before their coming to Parliament was concluded and ſubſcribed by a great part of her takers, to be taken from her in moſt cruel manner, as is notourly known." See alſo Crawford, 59. 304.

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on Elizabeth for a reſtoration to her Crown, brought them as freſh almoſt as if they had been untouched, before the public tribunal. The letters were again moſt unwelcomely to be produced; to be authenticated, ſupported and illuſtrated, in a manner which had not been found neceſſary, before that juncture. Elizabeth was both ſincerely and anxiouſly bent upon diſcountenancing men who appeared in the character of rebels; not that ſhe meant really to ſacrifice Murray; far leſs to ſave the Queen of Scots; but that from the proofs of atrocious guilt in their Sovereign which ſhe inſiſted upon Murray and his adherents publicly to produce, not only They might be cleared of the charge of treaſon and rebellion, but that She herſelf might obtain a plauſible pretence for retracting thoſe offers of aid and friendſhip which ſhe had made to the Scottiſh Queen.

Murray, who formerly lay, in ſome meaſure, concealed by the ſtation which he took in the centre of a dark confederacy, now found himſelf called upon to come individually forth; as by this time, at laſt, it clearly appeared, that every meaſure againſt his Sovereign, could be traced perſonally to him. Queen Elizabeth ſtated herſelf umpire between Queen Mary and her rebellious ſubjects: She commanded Murray and his partiſans to vindicate their conduct in

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ſeizing the Crown; and her arbitration they were neither in any condition, to diſpute nor to decline. The Regent, although he had the greateſt reaſon to hope for the continuance of that friendſhip from Elizabeth, which he had ſo long ſecretly enjoyed, and hence, that the balance would incline in his favour, found himſelf in a ſtate, both extremely odious and perplexing: He was to ſtand forth the public accuſer of his ſiſter and his Sovereign; and his proofs in ſupport of that charge being ſolely forged writings, were in no little hazard of being overturned; not only to his diſappointment, but to his infamy.

Deputies choſen upon both ſides, by Queen Mary and by her rebel ſubjects, met at York in the beginning of October *, to ſubmit all, that each ſhould think fit to ſtate for their reſpective intereſts, before Commiſſioners appointed by the Engliſh Queen. The Engliſh Commiſſioners, were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. The deputies of Queen Mary, were the Biſhop of Roſs, Lord Livingſton, Lord Boyd, Lord Herries, the Commendator of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling. Thoſe of Murray, under the name of the infant King, were Murray himſelf, the Earl of Morton, the Biſhop of Orkney, the Commendator

* October 4. 1568.

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dator of Dunfermling, and Lord Lindſay. To theſe, in ſo crooked and perilous a cauſe, he found it neceſſary to add a number of others, among whom were ſome eminently ſkilled in Civil law. He took likewiſe the aid of all the abilities and the virulence and the ſlander of the hiſtorian Buchanan; and completely to ſtrengthen the whole, was joined Maitland of Lethington, whoſe vaſt genius ſeemed ſufficient either to ſave any cauſe, or to ruin it. The hearty aſſiſtance of ſuch a man, would have been of the utmoſt avail, but he was unwillingly dragged into the ſcene; had remonſtrated againſt the arbitration of Elizabeth, as diſhonourable to the independence of Scotland; and was meditating a loyal return to the ſide of that injured Princeſs he once ſerved; and which, if he had never abandoned, the luſtre of his virtues would have ſhone, along with that of his almoſt unrivalled talents, to after times.

The footing upon which Queen Elizabeth propoſed the conferences at York, and to which only, Queen Mary acceded, was, That the Engliſh Commiſſioners were to diſcuſs the differences between the Scottiſh Queen and her rebellious ſubjects: Hear what Murray could allege for dethroning his lawful Sovereign; and although the reaſons aſſigned by him, in his own defence, ſhould be found juſt, Queen Mary nevertheleſs, was to be reſtored

ſtored to her kingdom and Crown. What benefit in that caſe, was to be ſecured to Murray and his adherents, was only, that they ſhould retain their honours and dignities. He was not to utter a word againſt the honour of the Queen: That is, he was not to charge her with adultery and murder *. Accordingly, Murray, in his juſtification, had recourſe to the old pretexts; alleged that the Queen his Sovereign had been held in thraldom and tyranny by Bothwell; that his motive was to reſcue her; and that, tired of royalty, ſhe had voluntarily reſigned her Crown at Lochlevin.

If there were any faith to be placed in Queen Elizabeth, the buſineſs to be tranſacted at York, was the cauſe of Murray, not of Queen Mary. But ſhe gave quite oppoſite inſtructions to her commiſſioners; empowered them to hear accuſations againſt the honour of the Queen of Scots; and upon ſufficient evidence in that reſpect, to find her unworthy of being reſtored †. It was entirely owing to Lethington, who had been veering for ſome time paſt to the party of the Scottiſh Queen, and to the Duke of Norfolk, who was an anxious well-wiſher to her ſucceſſion to the Crown of England, that nothing of that kind was done. They repreſented

* Goodall, II. 89. 338, 339. Anderſon, IV. 109, 110. &c.

† Anderſon, IV. 11, &c.

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preſented to Murray the odium and danger which might attend an impeachment of his Sovereign; and particularly, that Elizabeth was unſincere; hence ſhe would pronounce no ſentence againſt the Queen of Scots, even ſhould ſhe be found guilty: Her object being, to hold both parties under her own control. Murray, by theſe conſiderations, although he privately communicated the writings to the commiſſioners, was deterred, at that conference, from publicly producing them. He ſtood mute even to charges of treaſon which the Scottiſh deputies preferred againſt himſelf.

Lethington, about the ſame time, in a private converſation with the Duke of Norfolk, convinced him that Queen Mary was innocent of the crimes laid to her charge *: An evidence of extraordinary weight in this cauſe; as he undoubtedly knew the whole ſecret of the murder. Whether Lethington, from a growing coldneſs to the Regent, went thus, too far, in altogether exculpating the Queen; Or whether, the Duke himſelf, from having previouſly conceived a project for marrying that Princeſs, may have underſtood Lethington's words in a more favourable ſenſe than they could bear, are points upon which ſuſpicions may be entertained. What ſeems to be certain, is, that before this converſation, the Duke was of opinion that

* Murdin, 53. 164.

that the charges againſt Queen Mary, were well founded *.

The ſituation of the Engliſh Commiſſioners, rendered it not a little difficult, how to conduct themſelves. The writings had been ſubmitted, only to their private inſpection: The Scottiſh deputies were not preſent: And Queen Elizabeth, they knew on the other hand, expected a report from them agreeable to her views. Hence, in the letter which, after an examination of the writings, they addreſſed to their Queen from York †, do we find ſtrong marks of their having wiſhed to write in ſuch terms as ſhe would be pleaſed with. They, in a great meaſure, prejudged the cauſe; and uſed again and again the ſtrongeſt language of reproach and crimination. Still, their uprightneſs and candour, would not ſuffer them to decide. They had the merit more than once in their diſpatch to ſay as much, as that a proof of the letters being Queen Mary's real hand-writing, was wanting: A ſymptom, it ſhould ſeem, that they doubted their authenticity; and they requeſted Queen Elizabeth, at Murray's deſire, to take the whole matter under her own conſideration.

This diſpatch being partly of a public nature, and in the joint name of the three commiſſioners, it was not to be expected, that

* Murdin, 52, 134. Goodall, II. 154.

† October 11. 1568.

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* October 22. 1568.

nion, That from all he could learn, Murray and his faction, upon a judicial trial, would be manifeſtly found, and by proof "hardly to be denied," more criminal in that charge, than Queen Mary was. Such ſentiments, delivered by a perſon of great diſcernment and talents, who had an opportunity, of judging ſo well, from both parties, of the real ſtate of the caſe, and who withal, was one of Elizabeth's own commiſſioners, joined to what the Duke of Norfolk, another of them, ſaid of Murray and his partiſans, that "he neither ſaw wiſe men, nor good men *," and that his conſcience would have been hurt †, had he decided againſt Queen Mary, muſt have much weight with every impartial judge in this celebrated cauſe ‡. BOOK IV.

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* Melvil, 187. † Camden, 144. Crawford, 106.

‡ It is a duty owing to the reader, to tranſcribe the Earl of Suſſex's own words, in his letter to Cecil, of the 22d October 1568; and for which we are indebted to the learned Mr Lodge, in his Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, vol. II. p. 1. &c. publiſhed laſt year—"This matter (Queen Mary's cauſe) muſt at length take end, ſays the Earl, either by finding the Scottiſh Queen guilty of the crimes that are objected to her, or by ſome manner of compoſition (compromiſe), with a ſhow of ſaving her honour. The firſt, I think, will hardly be attempted, for two cauſes: The one, for that if her adverſe party, accuſe her of the murder by producing her letters, ſhe will deny them; and accuſe the moſt of them, of manifeſt conſent to the murder, hardly to be

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It may only be farther obſerved, that although the letters were indeed afterward produced at Weſtminſter and Hampton-court,

be denied: So as, upon the trial on both ſides, her proofs will judicially fall beſt out, as is thought. The other, for that their young King is of tender and weak years and ſtate of body; and if God ſhould call him, and the Queen were judicially defaced and diſhonoured; and her ſon, in reſpect of her wickedneſs, admitted to the Crown, Hamilton upon his death, ſhould ſucceed; which, as Murray's faction utterly deteſt, ſo, after her public defamation, they dare not, to avoid Hamilton, receive her again for fear of revenge: And therefore, to avoid theſe great perils, they ſurely intend, ſo far as by any means I can diſcover, to labour a compromiſe.—The Earl of Murray and his faction, endeavour that their Queen would now willingly ſurrender to her ſon, and procure the confirming of the regency in Murray. ——And if ſhe would agree to this, I think they would not only forbear to touch her in honour, but alſo to deliver to her all matters that they have to charge her, and denounce her clear by Parliament; and therewith put her in hope, not only to receive her again to her royal eſtate if her ſon die, but alſo, upon ſome proof of the forgetting of her diſpleaſure, to procure in ſhort time that ſhe may be reſtored in her ſon's life, and he to give place to her in her life. ——The Hamiltons endeavour, that the young King's authority ſhould be diſannulled, and the Queen reſtored to her Crown; and yet, in reſpect of her miſgovernment, they are contented that ſhe ſhould be governed by a Council of the Nobility of that realm, in which there ſhould be no ſuperior in authority or place, but that every Nobleman ſhould hold his place according to his ſtate.——Thus do you ſee how theſe two factions, for their private cauſes, (intereſts) toſs between them the Crown and public affairs of Scotland, and care neither for the mother nor the child, as I think before God, but to ſerve their own turns. Neither will Murray like of any order (arrangement) whereby he

court, in the charge againſt the Queen of Scots; yet it was ſtill, in the ſame private manner, as at York. They durſt never be ſubjected to the Queen's own inſpection, from a dread of that denial which Lord Suſſex predicted; neither was her accuſation of Murray and his party ever permitted to be heard; from a conſciouſneſs, that the evidence ſhe could produce againſt them, was ſtronger than what they had to allege againſt her. The Earl proved hence to be well founded in his judgment, That a charge againſt the Queen of Scots, either upon the footing of the letters or of the murder, would, "hardly be attempted."

he ſhould not be Regent ſtiled; nor Hamilton, of any order whereby he ſhould not be as great, or greater in government than Murray." This letter of the Earl of Suſſex's, is juſtly held by Mr Lodge to be an ineſtimable curioſity; on account of the profound wiſdom and policy it diſplays, and the clear and conciſe account which it contains of the affairs of Scotland, at that juncture. From the few extracts made from it here we learn the preciſe and forlorn ſtate of Queen Mary, with reſpect to her intereſts in Scotland; and ſee ſtill ſtronger reaſons, than what previouſly had been publiſhed, for her having determined to leave that kingdom after the defeat at Langſide. Factions, without any admiſſible pretences to patriotiſm; whoſe beſt features were turbulence, rudeneſs and ſelfiſhneſs; were ſtruggling with each other. To which of them, the Queen, the Royal authority and the public good, ſhould fall a prey. Queen Mary could look no where for relief, either to herſelf, or to her people, but to what was beyond the boundaries of her own realm.

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Queen Elizabeth having expected, that either Murray, or her own commiſſioners, or both, would have gone greater lengths, evoked the cauſe from York to Weſtminſter; where it would be more under her own eye and immediate management. To her former commiſſioners ſhe added Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great Seal, the Earls of Arundel and Leiceſter, Lord Clinton, and her ſecretary Cecil; ſeveral of whom, ſhe knew were extremely ill-diſpoſed towards the Queen of Scots. Beſides, Murray and his adherents were perſonally at London, admitted to her preſence: A favour denied to the other party, the Queen of Scots; and which betrayed an unfairneſs, which, notwithſtanding all her diſſimulation, Elizabeth was unable to conceal.

The ſecond conference was opened at Weſtminſter, in the end of November, that ſame year. Mary, by this time, being juſtly alarmed at Elizabeth's conduct, in admitting Murray to her preſence, but refuſing the like privilege to herſelf, though ſhe ſtill ſpoke of reſtoring her to her Crown, ordered her deputies to remonſtrate againſt that partiality *; demanded, that in perſon ſhe ſhould be allowed publicly to defend herſelf; and ſtated, in particular, that charges might be brought, which her deputies were not prepared to anſwer, and which

* November 22. 1568.

which ſhe herſelf was beſt able to refute *. To theſe ſpirited and righteous demands ſhe afterward uniformly adhered; and ordered a proteſt, at the ſame time, to be taken, that all proceedings againſt her, ſhould be null and invalid, if they were not granted. BOOK IV.

The deputies, in anſwer, were amuſed by the Engliſh Queen; not only with expreſſions of friendſhip, but had explicitly repeated to them, the ſame declaration as at York, That no judicial procedure ſhould take place againſt their miſtreſs: Her honour was to remain untouched †. In this ſtate, matters continued for ſome days, when, at a meeting of the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter ‡, contrary to all theſe profeſſions, Murray was allowed to accuſe her of the murder of Darnly; and to lay before them, a libel againſt her Crown, honour and perſon. The Queen's deputies, with great propriety, remonſtrated, recriminated, and demanded that their miſtreſs ſhould be perſonally preſent §. So far they did right, and acted by her direction; but in overturing next day, from views, it ſhould ſeem, for the common quiet of both parties, and of the nation at large, That this criminal charge ſhould be withdrawn; and that the ſole ſubject to be diſcuſſed, was the terms

* Goodall, II. 185.

† November 23. Goodall, II. 187.—189.

‡ November 26. Goodall, 207. § December 3.

BOOK IV. of a ſettlement between their Queen and her rebellious ſubjects, the original footing on which the conferences had ſet out, they acted, as they acknowledged themſelves, purely upon their own authority; having had no inſtructions whatever, for that purpoſe, from her *.

The Queen herſelf, felt her ſituation to be ſuch, that, inſtead of being neceſſitated to make ſuch a propoſal to her enemies, ſhe had them under her control, ſhould they proceed to extremities. We may conceive indeed, for reaſons already ſtated, that ſhe was deterred from preſſing a trial of the murderers of her huſband: At the ſame time, ſhe knew, that this would be ſtill leſs, the real deſire either of Queen Elizabeth, or of Murray and his adherents. Should they enter on a proof of the libel, they could not carry it through with any decency, nor even with the common forms of juſtice; and it was in her power, not only to foil, but to expoſe and to criminate Murray. Till about this time, all that had been propoſed, was, A diſcuſſion of the point with regard to a reſtoration to her Crown, clogged with an accommodation with her rebellious ſubjects: No public attempt had been made againſt her honour: There had even been made no public mention of the letters. She appears to have been prepared for charges on

* Goodall, II. 226.

on theſe grounds, and to have waited the time which her adverſaries might chooſe to bring them forward. Upon their being at laſt produced, and which formed the criſis of this cauſe, Queen Mary came forward to her ſtation; mounted up to a ſphere above her enemies; ſucceſſively, embarraſſed all their ſteps; and finally reduced them to a ſtate of confuſion and defeat.

Neither Elizabeth nor Murray dared to be juſt. Elizabeth, notwithſtanding that Mary demanded what common juſtice requires, That ſhe ſhould be preſent at her own trial; and, on account of her royal dignity, that the Engliſh Queen herſelf, the Nobility of England, and foreign Ambaſſadors, ſhould be witneſſes to it, uniformly refuſed to comply; although theſe demands were repeatedly and ardently urged. The beauty of the Scottiſh captive, her manners, her talents, her majeſtic dignity, were of all ſpectacles what Elizabeth wiſhed leaſt to behold. Murray, beſides being a party, at the leaſt, in the murder of Darnly, and afraid to accuſe leſt he ſhould be accuſed himſelf, had no other proofs againſt his Sovereign than forged writings; and which he therefore durſt not ſubmit to her inſpection. The moment he ſhould do this, detection might be the conſequence. He foreſaw this danger; and Queen Elizabeth ſeems plainly to have been ſenſible of it. No requiſitions

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whatever therefore, and however loudly repeated, could make them lay the letters, either originals or copies, before the perſon accuſed; which of all things was the firſt in order, in a criminal trial, founded ſolely upon them.

The ſcheme of the Engliſh Queen was to go on with the trial; but, at the ſame time, to conceal it from Queen Mary. This ſhe expected to accompliſh, as the Scottiſh deputies, had already more than hinted, that they would withdraw altogether from the conferences, if their royal miſtreſs were not preſent. For this purpoſe, ſhe very artfully diſguiſed her intentions, and ſpoke in ſuch ambiguous and wavering terms with reſpect to the trial, that it ſeemed doubtful, whether there were to be any trial at all. She called the Scottiſh deputies to her preſence, and told them, That ſhe meant not to require Queen Mary's accuſers to produce proofs againſt her; That, on the contrary, ſhe was to charge and reprehend Murray by every means in her power, in favour of the Scottiſh Queen; That if for his defence, he ſhould allege any thing againſt her, ſhe would hear it, purely for her own private ſatisfaction; That it was very reaſonable ſhe ſhould be heard in her own cauſe, as it was of ſo weighty a nature; That the object was their miſtreſs's weal; That ſhe was reſolved to know what her enemies had to propoſe againſt

gainſt her; And how they were to prove their allegations *. BOOK IV.

Queen Elizabeth, when ſhe ſpoke thus, had beſides, in June preceding, (as will be ſtated in the Examination of the writings aſcribed to Queen Mary) already ſeen the very letters which contained the proofs with which ſhe ſaid ſhe was unacquainted; and alſo had had an Abſtract and large Extracts from them tranſmitted afterward to her in October, by her Commiſſioners at York. She likewiſe ſpoke thus, in the preſence of thoſe Commiſſioners themſelves who made the tranſmiſſions; and of her Privy-Council at London, to whom ſhe communicated them, at the time. While this conduct reflects ſo much againſt herſelf perſonally, it ſhews how far her Commiſſioners and Council were over-awed by her †; and how little expectations there could be formed, of any fairneſs or freedom in the trial that was to enſue.

Queen Elizabeth ſtill continuing to refuſe that the accuſed Princeſs ſhould have acceſs to her preſence, and to enjoy what common juſtice required, The benefit of a public

* Goodall, II. 222, 227. December 4. 1568.

† In their behalf, however, it will be mentioned in the Examination of the writings aſcribed to Queen Mary, that they were impoſed upon by Murray, in the courſe of the trial; and to a degree, which hitherto ſeems to have eſcaped detection.

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trial; The Scottiſh deputies publicly entered a proteſt againſt all farther proceedings whatever in theſe conferences; and formally withdrew *. It does not appear, however, that the Queen of Scots, by this ſtep, meant to put a final end to the conferences; or to avail herſelf of the proteſt, as a plea for refuſing to anſwer high and unexpected charges which afterward might be brought againſt her. The contrary of this is plain, from a public letter, ſoon to be mentioned, written a few days † after this period; in which, although ſhe was refuſed the preſence of Elizabeth, ſhe expreſsly inſtructed her deputies, to anſwer, even in her abſence, to the charge of being an accomplice in the murder of her huſband ‡.

Although this proteſt and the retiring of the deputies, put a period to the validity of any after proceedings on the ſubject, the trial notwithſtanding, by a colluſive artifice between Elizabeth and Murray, went on; and the writings were judicially produced and examined. Elizabeth affected to take the place of the accuſed Princeſs, whom ſhe ſtiled, "her good ſiſter, good neighbour and friend; whom ſhe would not forget to love;" reproached Murray for accuſing her; and commanded him to produce

* December 9. 1568. Goodall, II. 280.

† December 19. 1568. ‡ Goodall, II. 281.—293.

duce his evidences. On his part, he affected regret at the Engliſh Queen's diſpleaſure; and produced the writings. This was what, both of them wiſhed; eſpecially now, that the Scottiſh deputies had retired.

During this trial, if it can be called by that name, at Weſtminſter *, the Engliſh Commiſſioners, examined the writings; found them to be genuine and of a criminal nature; but no ſentence was paſſed. A greater ſolemnity in the Court having been thought neceſſary, Elizabeth added to her former Commiſſioners ſome of the principal Nobles of England, the Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntington and Warwick. The place of meeting was changed to Hampton-court; and there †, theſe Noblemen, the Privy-Council and the Commiſſioners, having aſſembled, with Elizabeth herſelf in perſon ſitting among them, the writings were again examined; and the ſame opinion given, as at Weſtminſter.

The deputies of Queen Mary ſeem to have been but very imperfectly informed with reſpect to what was carrying on at theſe meetings. They were left to gather from report, any news that could be collected; and this was a very difficult matter. It appears to have been a great object with Queen Elizabeth, that no particulars whatever ſhould be

* December 8. 1568. † December 14. and 15.

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be divulged. The general reſult only, was to be communicated, or rather whiſpered; not the proofs upon which that reſult was founded. The meeting at Hampton-Court particularly, was enjoined to ſecrecy before they began their proceedings; and the injunction repeated, after they ended them: On purpoſe, it was given out, that nothing might tranſpire to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots.

In the midſt of this cloud, however, there was light enough to ſee, that ſomething of a very threatening nature was going forward: It ſoon became known, that the Queen of Scots was actually charged with the murder of her huſband; and that, upon the evidence of certain writings aſcribed to her. Her deputies appear to have immediately tranſmitted intelligence of this to Bolton, the place where their Queen was held at that time in cuſtody *.

But before her anſwer to their diſpatch arrived, Elizabeth called the Scottiſh deputies to Hampton-Court †; and after informing them, that a heinous charge having been exhibited againſt their miſtreſs, ſhe could not admit her to her preſence; ſhe added, that the Queen of Scots, ſhould either communicate an anſwer to thoſe charges privately

* Probably on the 13th or 14th of December, as the Queen's anſwer is dated the 19th.

† December 16.

vately to herſelf; or inſtruct her deputies publicly to defend her conduct before the Engliſh Commiſſioners. This, however, was by no means her object. Elizabeth's wiſh, was to put an immediate end to a trial, ſo flagrantly unfair, as had been conducted, on her part; and ſo dangerous as it might prove to Murray, ſhould the Scottiſh Princeſs inſiſt on a recrimination. All ſhe had dared to do, was clandeſtinely to find that Princeſs guilty; and clandeſtinely to circulate ſome general account of the trial; without either the accuſed perſon or her deputies being preſent at it, or knowing the grounds upon which it had proceeded. She therefore now communicated privately to her agents a device, which, (to uſe her own words) "was of all others the beſt for us:" This was, to overture to the Queen, that ſhe ſhould reſign her Crown to her ſon, during whoſe minority Murray ſhould be Regent; and that her whole cauſe ſhould henceforth be committed to perpetual ſilence. Fit perſons were employed, and arguments of various kinds directed to be uſed, to induce Queen Mary to accede to theſe meaſures, on purpoſe to make her deſiſt from vindicating herſelf, or from accuſing Murray; but all which, as will ſoon be mentioned, proved totally ineffectual *.

Scarcely

* December 22. 1568. Goodall, II. 274.—280.

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Scarcely had a ſingle day elapſed, after this device was appointed to be carried into execution, when it was completely thwarted: Nothing could have been more croſs to the Engliſh Queen's views; and at the very firſt ſtep, ſhe was meditating. Queen Mary's anſwer to the diſpatch of her deputies, in which they had incloſed a copy of Murray's libel againſt her honour, had now arrived *. In that anſwer, ſo deciſive with reſpect to the reality of her reſolution to meet her enemies upon the ground of the libel; dropping, in effect, from the claim ſhe had formerly urged of being perſonally preſent at her own trial; ſhe inſtructed them minutely how to defend her innocence, and to criminate her accuſers before the Engliſh Commiſſioners. They had had no inſtructions before that time, ſhe obſerved, with reſpect to theſe points; "The thing being ſo horrible, that neither I nor you could have imagined it could come into the thoughts of the rebels. The trial, muſt not ſtop: The libel muſt be anſwered." Her deputies accordingly in her name, before Elizabeth and her Council, expreſsly charged Murray and his adherents with being the deviſers and executors of the murder of Darnly; branded them with hypocriſy in diſguiſing their crimes, under the veil of zeal for religion and

* December 24.

and the good of the country; demanded an inſpection of the writings that had been imputed to their miſtreſs; required that ſhe ſhould be admitted to the preſence of the Engliſh Queen; declared that the fixed purpoſe of their Sovereign was to vindicate herſelf; and that ſhe would by no means ſuffer the charge againſt her, to eſcape unrefuted.

Such was the animated and indignant accuſation preferred by Queen Mary; the very rumour of which being to be ſtated againſt him, had filled Murray with diſtreſs and lamentation *. It was no wonder, that Queen Elizabeth, upon theſe demands being preſented, required time to conſult upon the ſubject. She alſo could not help ſaying, that it was "very reaſonable" the Queen of Scots ſhould ſee the writings which had been produced againſt her; but this was never granted †.

In the beginning of January ‡, Queen Mary ſent to Lord Huntly for the proteſtation already mentioned, referring to the conference at Craigmillar; which proved Murray to be the deviſer of the murder; but which was intercepted by him, on its way to Scotland, as has been ſtated in a former part of this work §. Two days after this ‖, ſhe ſent

* Goodall, II. 280. † Goodall, 280.—293.

‡ January 5. 1569. § Page 62, &c. ‖ January 7.

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ſent her deputies a ſecond time, to deſire that the original writings, or at leaſt copies of them, ſhould be delivered, in order that they might be fully anſwered. Elizabeth ſtill replied, that ſhe waited for advice upon that point; but promiſed, ſhe would give an anſwer "within two or three days *;" but which never was given. At the ſame time, ſhe laid before them the propoſal already mentioned, of a compromiſe between the Queen of Scotland and her ſubjects, and of a reſignation of her Crown, as being weary of that realm and of the cares of government. The deputies would not hearken to the project of a reſignation; and flatly refuſed their offices to act in any degree in ſupport of it. When Queen Mary herſelf, was acquainted with it; riſing in her indignation and magnanimity, ſhe made the celebrated reply, "Rather than reſign that Crown which God has given me, I will die. The laſt word I ſhall utter in my life, ſhall be in the character of Queen of Scotland †."

Theſe affairs were now verging to their laſt ſtage. There were no poſſible means, by which Queen Elizabeth could make her eſcape, but by removing both Murray and the writings out of the kingdom. So long as they were within it, Queen Mary, it was ſeen, would demand them; to charge the former with murder; and to prove the latter

* Goodall, II. 297, 298. † Ibid. 300.—303.

ter to be a forgery. Senſible of the flagrant partiality and injuſtice of her whole conduct; confounded with the perplexities and obſtinacy of the cauſe; deterred by repeated and ardent recriminations, Queen Elizabeth found herſelf, not only, in contradiction to all that had paſſed at York, Weſtminſter and Hampton-Court, obliged, to make a complete retreat; but under the abſolute neceſſity of declaring in favour of Queen Mary's innocence. This was publicly done in the preſence of the Council; of Murray and his accomplices themſelves. "No ſufficient evidence, (ſaid Elizabeth), has been produced, for what has been yet ſeen, from which any evil opinion of the Queen of Scots, can be conceived *." To ſuch an unlooked-for extremity, was the Engliſh Princeſs driven; with a view to get rid, both of the defence of the Queen of Scots; and of the accuſations ſhe might inſiſt upon, againſt her adverſaries.

On the ſame day alſo, with a wonderful inconſiſtency, Murray's conduct was juſtified, as not being derogatory to his honour and allegiance; and he obtained, what he much longed for, permiſſion to return home. This licence was hurriedly given him, to ſerve the purpoſe juſt mentioned; and publicly granted, in order that it might be the better underſtood, that he was on the eve of his

* January 10. 1569. Goodall, II. 305.

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his departure, and hence no farther demand for the original writings in his cuſtody, could be made. Murray however, was in fact not ready for the journey: He continued ſtill for ſome time in London; and in that interval, borrowed a large ſum of money from the Engliſh Queen to pay his expenſes in England, and to enable him to proſecute his way home. It appears, that he did not actually ſet out, till fourteen days after he had obtained permiſſion.

Before Murray however left London, and on the day * after he got leave to depart, Elizabeth called him and his colleagues, and alſo the Scottiſh deputies, before herſelf and her Privy-council. No ſmall difficulties ſtill, were in the way. Mary had indeed been declared innocent, herſelf; but ſhe might notwithſtanding, perſiſt in accuſing Murray. Her deputies were therefore aſked, If they were to come forward with ſuch a charge; and whether, in their own name, or in that of their Queen. They had the expreſs commands, they replied, of their Queen, To accuſe Murray and his adherents of the murder of Darnly: As private gentlemen, they were not to act in their own name; but in the capacity of deputies, they were ready to proceed. Murray and his faction, upon this, ſimply denied that they were guilty; and ſaid they would go to Bolton to the Queen, to

* January 11. 1569.

to know whether ſhe were to accuſe them, or not. There is no occaſion for that journey, anſwered the deputies, as the Queen has ſignified her reſolution, by writings under her ſubſcription and ſeal; and which have already been laid before Queen Elizabeth and her Council *. No reply was made; and this branch of the buſineſs, was thus put an end to, by the adverſaries of the Queen of Scots.

But another ſtill remained. Elizabeth had ſaid, It was reaſonable, that copies of the letters ſhould be delivered to the Queen of Scots; and had only defired a very ſhort time to deliberate upon the ſubject. Two days only after the meeting laſt mentioned, the deputies were again called before the Privy-council, and told, that copies would be given them; Provided their miſtreſs would promiſe to anſwer the charges founded upon them. It was eaſy to ſee, that nothing was intended, nor could be done, in ſuch a ſituation; Murray having by this time, publicly withdrawn; and hence no anſwers could be judged of, in his abſence. As to their miſtreſs being willing and ready to anſwer the charges, the deputies replied, That ſhe had, in her own hand-writing, repeatedly demanded the letters, for the very purpoſe of anſwering them; as was well known already, they added, to Queen Elizabeth

* Goodall, II. 307.—309.

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zabeth and her Council *. The Council, inſiſted no farther. Probably their view, in holding this meeting, was purely to put into their records, That copies were, in fact offered to the deputies. They omitted, it is likely, the reply of the deputies; and might circulate in private, that no ſatisfactory anſwer had been given.

So harmleſsly, in this reſpect, vaniſhed a phantom, which had brandiſhed in its hands, the weapons of death. So ended, theſe dark and illegal and diſhonourable proceedings. The Queen of Scots was found to be beyond the reach of enemies, who poſſeſſed all power; and who were reſtrained, almoſt by no principle, in the exerciſe of it. Queen Elizabeth, from the meanneſs, unfairneſs and barbarity of her conduct, in this, and in the whole of her after-treatment of Queen Mary, till ſhe brought her to the block, is doomed to a contempt, and to an ignominy, which will never die. Murray, who practiſed deeper in hypocriſy, than perhaps any man that has lived; whoſe mind was ſteeled, equally againſt humanity, honour and truth; who walked in darkneſs; who ſmiled in the midſt of iniquity; and who covered all his motions with the cloak of religion, is to be handed

* Goodall, II. 310.—313.

handed down, as an impoſtor of the firſt magnitude, to all after times *. BOOK IV.

* Queen Elizabeth, ſays the author of Crawford's Memoirs, was too wiſe not to look upon him as the worſt of men, who at once defamed his Siſter, his Queen, the Mother of his Prince, and one whom, in his conſcience, he could not but believe innocent. He was abandoned at laſt by his friends, and univerſally hated by all juſt men. Memoirs, 114, 115. 139. When the news of his death (which happened on January 23. 1570) reached Queen Mary, in place of ſhowing the leaſt ſign of reſentment for the injuries he had done her, ſhe wept over the ſuddenneſs of it; before he had expiated by repentance, his ſins againſt God, his Sovereign and his country. Camden, 172. Jebb, II. 75. Crawford, 144.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK V.

The hiſtory of Queen Mary, from her trial at Weſtminſter and Hampton-court, till her trial at Fotheringay.

THE impreſſion left upon the Public, in general, by thoſe tranſactions at Weſtminſter and Hampton-court, appears to have been advantageous to the Queen of Scots. Whatever may have been the ſtate of opinions at firſt, The double dealing of the Engliſh Queen, The extreme unfairneſs in the whole trial, The ſuſpicions againſt Murray himſelf, of being guilty of that very crime

BOOK V. with which he charged his Sovereign, ſeem all to have concurred together, in ſtriking the minds of diſintereſted and unbiaſſed men; and to have turned almoſt wholly the current in her favour, ſoon after the judicial meetings of the Engliſh Commiſſioners and Council. Although committed to cloſer confinement than ever, this could not be kept from her knowledge: She was ſoon ſenſible, that her friends were increaſing; and her enemies becoming fewer in number. All this was ſignally manifeſted by the general zeal, and of which the greater part of the Engliſh Nobility partook, ſo early as the month of July the ſame year *, for her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, for her reſtoration to the Crown and country of Scotland, and for ſettling her right of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne. In a letter from Throkmorton to Lethington, at that time, he affirmed, "That the ableſt and wiſeſt and mightieſt of the Nobility of England, aſſiſted in the conducting of theſe affairs †."

But all this, proved unable to contend with Elizabeth; whoſe arts and terrors defeated theſe projects, almoſt as ſoon as they were known to her. When Mary, with a view to prepare her ſituation for ſuch a change, took courage for the firſt time, to move a divorce from Bothwell, ſhe found the

* July 1569. † Principal Robertſon, II. 479.

the minds of the ruling party among the Scottiſh Nobles, poiſoned againſt her cauſe. They durſt not conſent to ſuch an overture, as Elizabeth was not yet acquainted with it: From having declared themſelves not long before, zealous for nothing ſo much, as a ſeparation of their Queen from Bothwell; with heat and with rancour, they now rejected that very ſame propoſition, when voluntarily tendered by herſelf *. BOOK V.

At this period were cloſed, in a great degree, the public ſcenes of Queen Mary's life. Henceforth, ſhe was confined within a narrower and more private circle; cut off more and more from the world; and if we except her laſt trial at Fotheringay, never ſuffered again to become the ſubject of any public deliberation.

During her long and miſerable captivity in England, extending to no leſs than eighteen years, every thing that can diſappoint, or can diſtreſs the human mind, befel the Queen of Scots. From time to time, and even ſo late †, as a few years before her death, the Engliſh Queen continued deceitfully to amuſe her with hopes and treaties for being reſtored to her Crown. All plots againſt Elizabeth, and the reformed religion, were aſcribed to Mary. Letters were forged, in her name, to prove this. Numberleſs inſults were committed againſt her. She

* Spotſwood, 231. † 1584.

BOOK V. ſoon loſt her beſt friends. The Duke of Norfolk early ſuffered death in her cauſe *. About the ſame time, the faithful Leſly, Biſhop of Roſs, was impriſoned, and afterward baniſhed. Charles IX. King of France, her friend and admirer, died ſoon after †. She was ſucceſſively carried from caſtle to caſtle; ſhut up in cloſer and cloſer confinement; while labouring under diſeaſe, no mitigation of her hardſhips could be extorted, but with the utmoſt difficulty. Her own ſon repeatedly inſulted her ‡. Even her two poor domeſtic ſecretaries, gained over with bribes, adminiſtered by the Engliſh Court, turned unnaturally againſt a kind and tender miſtreſs; and deponed, that the letters, which were forged in her name, to Babington, were genuine, and written at her own command, by themſelves §.

But it is rather our purpoſe, to relate the manner in which Queen Mary bore her calamities, than to give a detail of them. Many additional inſtances of relentleſs and ſtudied cruelty, are produced in a recent publication of original papers; one or two of which only therefore, ſhall be here mentioned. In a letter from Cecil to the Earl of Shrewſbury, who had Queen Mary under his cuſtody, that ſtateſman, in the name of his miſtreſs, required that the Earl ſhould induſtriouſly inſult his priſoner, and try to overcome

* 1572. † 1574. ‡ 1579. 1585. § 1586.

overcome her wonted patience. This was with an inſidious view, at the time, to provoke her to uſe unguarded expreſſions with reſpect to Elizabeth, of which advantage might be taken, and a pretence obtained for treating her with greater ſeverity *. Nor can we doubt that Shrewſbury would put this mandate into full execution; although it does not appear, with the deſired effect. That Nobleman was devoted to Elizabeth's will. In a letter to her, written much about the ſame period with the above from Cecil to him, he aſſures her, that if any attempt were made to carry the Queen of Scots by force from his cuſtody, he would take care that ſhe ſhould be aſſaſſinated †.

Elizabeth, on the other hand, was herſelf, very far from ſitting down to the enjoyment of quiet and eaſe. From the fame of abilities and accompliſhments, from the praiſe for amiable manners and virtues, which even abſolute power, could not prevent

* This letter was written in 1572, when Elizabeth gave out, that Mary was ſtirring up a rebellion in England. The words of Cecil to Shrewſbury were, "And ſo, in this ſort, her Majeſty (Elizabeth) would have you tempt her (Mary's) patience, to provoke her to anſwer ſomewhat." Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory by Mr Lodge, vol. II. 71.

† "I have her ſure enough, and ſhall keep her forthcoming at your Majeſty's commandment, either quick or dead, whatſoever ſhe, or any of her's, invents to the contrary; and as I have no doubt *(fear)* at all of her ſtealing away from me, ſo if any forcible attempt be given for her, the greateſt peril is ſure to be her's." Illuſtrations, *&c.* II. 96.

BOOK V.

vent from being circulated, and from the number and dignity of thoſe who favoured, although for the moſt part ſecretly, her cauſe, The Scottiſh Princeſs, in a ſtate of humiliation and of bonds, proved to be an almoſt unceaſing object of jealouſy and of perturbation to the Engliſh Queen. Elizabeth knew ſhe was unjuſt and cruel: She felt the ſuperiority of the Queen of Scots. Hence was ſhe ſuſpicious of all the world, as favourers of that Princeſs. Cecil, even Cecil! was not pure in her ſight. But they who commit barbarity and who cheriſh malice againſt others, ſeldom or never, themſelves, eſcape from that internal trouble, which conſcience excites. An injured Form was always before Elizabeth: Mary, haunted her by day, and by night. When ſhe heard the news of a rupture which took place between Lord Shrewſbury and his Lady, "She would never, (ſaid his ſon, in a letter to him) ſleep quietly," fearing that the Earl might hence, attach himſelf to his royal priſoner. Perhaps, there are but few inſtances, in hiſtory, of ſuch long continued agitation, fear and ſecret torment, as that Princeſs experienced. It was, with pain preying upon her heart, that ſhe held an abſolute ſceptre in her hands: It was, on a bed of thorns, that Elizabeth ſlept.

In ſuch an uneaſy ſtate of mind, ariſing from that cauſe, it may readily be conceived,

ceived, that many of her ſubjects would fall under her ſuſpicion, and experience her reſentment. Among whom, the Earl of Shrewſbury himſelf, furniſhed the moſt remarkable inſtance; and worthy of being particularly ſtated, as he had the cuſtody of Queen Mary for the ſpace of no leſs than fifteen years. The ſituation of that Nobleman, during ſo long a period, preſents a pictureſque and a frightful example of the rigour of a tyrant, and the miſery of a ſlave. Queen Elizabeth, with the moſt exceſſive and ſtudied ſeverity, conducted herſelf towards Lord Shrewſbury, The very man who was keeper of the Scottiſh Princeſs; and on that account, one ſhould have thought, his treatment, in order to ſecure his fidelity, would have been the oppoſite. But deſpotiſm has its own rules to go by. Queen Elizabeth knew, that the more rigidly any perſon who is devoid of the ſenſe of liberty, is treated, the more obedient will he be; and not only ſubmit the more patiently, but even the more thankfully, to the laſh. Such a perſon was the Earl of Shrewſbury; and we may believe, great part of his fellow-ſubjects were nearly in the ſame ſtate, in thoſe ages of arbitrary power; before the Engliſh Revolution had ſettled a form of government, by far the freeſt, and happieſt, that is at this day, known in the world. When ſuſpected, reproached and trampled upon by his

BOOK V.

his royal miſtreſs; when ſecluded from her preſence for more than ten years; when denied intercourſe with his own family; when his own tenants were raiſed up againſt him; when his own wife, with whom he quarrelled, had her cauſe eſpouſed by Elizabeth; Shrewſbury ſtood true to the chains with which he was bound. He interceded in this ſtate, with Walſingham, one of the Engliſh Queen's favourite miniſters, for his good offices, to make her "behold him, with the ſweet eyes of her compaſſion." At the ſame time, Shrewſbury was not naturally wanting in humanity. It ſhould ſeem, that at times, he could not reſiſt the dictates of lenity and moderation. Queen Mary, his priſoner, was conſtantly in his eye: He daily ſaw her harſhips, her patience, her amiableneſs and her fortitude: And he was ſeduced at times from the ſervice of tyranny, into ſome acts of civility and good nature. All theſe were conſtrued againſt him; and the miſerable Earl, ſpent his days in diſappointment and vexation.

The manner in which Queen Mary endured her long impriſonment and rigours, furniſhes one of the moſt laudable and admired inſtances of her behaviour, during her whole life. All writers agree, in praiſing her ſteadineſs and courage; her meekneſs and religious reſignation. At the ſame time, her attention was by no means aſleep, with

with reſpect to the means of recovering her liberty, and of being reſtored to her throne. For theſe purpoſes, ſhe employed all her addreſs; exerted all her talents, to gain over her enemies, and to put her friends in motion, both at home and abroad.

Undoubtedly ſhe had been ſupported all along, in no ſmall degree, by the ſentiments and exertions of many, in her intereſt. The number of her friends was greater, than what outwardly appeared. There was a latent good wiſh for her, not unknown to herſelf, all over the iſland, and particularly in England; which nothing but the awe of Queen Elizabeth, could have kept from divulging itſelf. When a ſhort time before her death, her cabinet was forcibly ſeized and examined, there were found in it, letters from Engliſh Noblemen, full of friendſhip and of affection *. The Queen's faction, as it was called in Scotland, for many years, made head againſt that of the King her ſon; and would have overcome it, had it not been for the interpoſition of the Engliſh Queen. Many powers on the Continent, were long zealous and active in her cauſe. The Catholics were her natural friends.

But the chief and permanent ſupport of the Queen of Scots, was in her own mind. She was qualified, independent of friends, to

* Camden, 411.

BOOK V. to meet with enemies and with misfortunes. On many occaſions, when left to herſelf, and without almoſt a ſingle ray of hope, ſhe remained unſhaken. In the trial to which ſhe was ſubjected, for a participation in Babington's conſpiracy, (the account of which will immediately be given), where there was no perſon whatever to give aſſiſtance, ſhe raiſed, with magnanimity, her ſolitary voice in an appeal to Juſtice and to Nations; and when ſhe was condemned, that magnanimity did not forſake her. Two things, in particular, ſhowed the loftineſs of her ſpirit. Her Crown, ſhe would never reſign: A public trial before Elizabeth, the Parliament of England and foreign Ambaſſadors, that is, before all Europe, ſhe in all caſes demanded.

To thoſe proofs of her ſpirit and powers continuing unaabted, may be added the numerous, able and eloquent letters, ſhe wrote during her confinement in England; among which, is particularly to be mentioned, the letter to Elizabeth, upon the occaſion of the captivity of her ſon, and the machinations againſt herſelf and him, abetted by that Princeſs *. No perſon can read that letter, without ſome degree of aſtoniſhment. It is difficult to ſay, whether, the pathetic, or the grand, ſhine moſt. To it, the admirers

* November 28. 1582. The reader will find this letter at large, in the ſecond Appendix. Number XXXI.

mirers of Queen Mary may refer, as a ground of their panegyrics; whether there is to be conſidered, The great mind which it diſplays; The ſolemnity which reigns throughout; The piety, which it expreſſes; The chain of argument which is maintained; The eloquence, with which it glows; Or, the bold and juſt reproach, with which it fearleſsly brands the Engliſh Queen.

The latter ſcenes of Queen Mary's life, and to which we now proceed, were the greateſt. Notwithſtanding ſo long a tract of captivity and indignities, although ſhe was, at times, deeply affected, ſo far from being ſubdued, Compoſure and majeſty of mind, grew upon her, as ſhe drew nearer to the end of her ſufferings; and, in proportion to the meaſure of them. It was in vain, that above forty perſons of the higheſt rank and office in England ſat in judgment, in her preſence, at the caſtle of Fotheringay; upon the charge that was brought againſt her, for participating with Babington in the attempt againſt Elizabeth's life. Queen Mary was above them and her ſituation. She ſpoke in her own cauſe, as a Queen ſhould ſpeak; and the whole proceedings againſt her, made no alteration upon her mind, nor her demeanour.

A horrid plot of aſſaſſination had been formed in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix, againſt the Engliſh

BOOK V. Engliſh Queen; partly, with a view, to reſcue the Scottiſh Princeſs; but chiefly, from a motive, to ſerve the intereſts of the Roman Catholic religion. This conſpiracy, which originated with Roman Catholic prieſts, and perſons of little note, was ſoon imparted to Mr Babington, a perſon of great fortune, of many accompliſhments, and who had before that time, diſcovered himſelf to be a zealous friend of Queen Mary. From a romantic admiration of that Princeſs, joined to a belief in the moſt immoral of all the doctrines held out by the Church of Rome, The merit of deſtroying heretics, he at once entered into this deſign; was joined by ſeveral other gentlemen of good families; and a ſcheme of operation was concerted in the month of June. The plot was ſoon diſcovered; the conſpirators were ſeized in the beginning of Auguſt; and ſuffered death towards the end of September. It was upon a charge of joining in that plot, that Queen Mary was tried, at Fotheringay caſtle, and condemned to death.

There is no doubt that Queen Mary had correſponded with Babington; but this was chiefly at a former period, and ſome years back. A long ſilence had taken place between them; and Morgan, one of the Engliſh fugitives in France, and a warm friend of Mary's, in the month of May that year *, wrote

* May 9. 1586. Murdin, 513.

wrote a letter to her, repeatedly and in the moſt preſſing manner, recommending a revival of that correſpondence. In conſequence of which, in her anſwer to Morgan, dated the twenty-ſeventh of July, ſhe informed him, that ſhe had made all apologies in her power, to Babington, for not having written to him for ſo long a ſpace; that he had generouſly offered himſelf and all his fortune in her cauſe; and that, agreeably to Morgan's advice, ſhe would do her beſt to retain him in her intereſts. What is exceedingly remarkable, Her enemies, in the courſe of the trial at Fotheringay, charged her with having written a letter to Babington, dated on the very ſame day, the twenty-ſeventh of July, in which ſhe aſſented to the horrid deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth, and promiſed rewards to the perpetrators. Nothing like this, is to be ſeen in her letter to Morgan; a perſon long her agent; in her deepeſt confidence; who had juſt been preſſing a correſpondence between her and Babington; and her letter to him, in no greater danger of being intercepted, than that to Babington. On the very ſame twenty-ſeventh of July too, ſhe actually wrote a letter to Paget, another of her moſt confidential friends; but not a word in it, with reſpect to Babington's ſcheme of cutting off the Engliſh Queen. To Morgan and to Paget, ſhe certainly would have communicated

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her mind, more readily and more particularly, than to Babington. It is, I apprehend, upon the fact of theſe letters having been written to Morgan and Paget, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, ſo exceedingly unlike to that ſhe was accuſed of to Babington, dated the ſame day, a circumſtance which ſeems to have eſcaped the attention of writers in this cauſe, that the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proof is furniſhed, of the letter to Babington not having been written by Queen Mary.

Neither does it ſeem probable, that the letter aſcribed to Babington himſelf, in which he was ſaid to communicate his ſcheme of aſſaſſination to Queen Mary, and claim rewards to the perpetrators, to have been written by that gentleman. Fooliſh, bigotted, criminal, in the higheſt degree, as he was, his mind was filled with ſuch an enthuſiaſtic admiration of the Scottiſh Princeſs; his fortune ſo large as to be beyond all pecuniary temptation, that it neither can be ſuppoſed, he would act from views of intereſt himſelf, nor be inſtrumental in ſoliciting recompences to his aſſociates. It is to be believed, that both he and they, who were for the moſt part, men either of rank or fortune, were not only above acting a mercenary part, but as they, paſt all doubt, heartily wiſhed well to the intereſts of the Queen of Scots, they would never think of imparting

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the conſpiracy to her; from the conſequence, that her own life, would be endangered by it, in the caſe of a diſcovery. That this was the very light in which her friends viewed this matter, there is the cleareſt evidence. Morgan, in a letter to her of the fourth of July, expreſsly and in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended, to have no intelligence at all with Ballard *, who was one of the original contrivers of the plot, and who was the very perſon who communicated it to Babington. The Queen, in conſequence of this, ſhut the door againſt all correſpondence, if it ſhould be offered, with that perſon †. At the ſame time, Morgan aſſigned no particular reaſons for that advice; ſo cautious was he about giving the Queen any information upon the ſubject: What he ſaid was general and ſtudiouſly obſcure: "Ballard (ſaid he, only,) is intent on ſome matters of conſequence, the iſſue of which is uncertain." He even went farther, and charged Ballard himſelf to abſtain in any wiſe, from opening his views to the Queen of Scots.

The conduct of Mary, in drawing a line of ſeparation between herſelf and the conſpirators, appears to have been adopted alſo by moſt of her friends who were of any rank or character. Camden informs us in particular, that the Counteſs of Arundel, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Henry Howard and

* Murdin, 527. † Murdin, 534.

BOOK V. George Shirley, would take no part in ſuch a perilous affair *. Which leads to mention a very remarkable circumſtance: When that ſame letter aſcribed to Babington, concerning which we have been juſt ſpeaking, was read in her hearing at the trial, At a paſſage in it, which made mention of the Earl of Arundel and his brothers, ſo flatly contradicted above, by Camden, the Queen gave way to an inſtantaneous burſt of tears †: "Alas, ſaid ſhe, what has not the noble houſe of Howard ſuffered for my ſake!" A ſtrong indication, or rather the voice of nature, it ſhould ſeem, declaring, that that letter was new to the Queen of Scots.

The real letter from Babington to Queen Mary, if it contained any thing more than general expreſſions of devoting himſelf to her ſervice, probably, the particulars in it, referred to an invaſion of England by foreign powers, on purpoſe to reſtore her to the throne of Scotland; or to reſcue her from captivity, in the firſt inſtance, by himſelf. In her letters about this time, and particularly in that to Paget already mentioned, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, we find her intent and hopeful upon both of thoſe attempts. When charged with them, at her trial, ſo far from denying, ſhe boldly, to the face of her judges, avowed that ſuch had been her purpoſes, All the charges indeed brought

* Camden, 407. † Camden, 424.

brought againſt her, ſhe ſeemed to admit, except that which related to the attempt upon the life of Elizabeth. On this ſubject, ſhe ſpoke then, and continued to do ſo, till her laſt breath, with the utmoſt horror. Queen Mary was of a mild character, and truly religious: While ſhe was exceſſively bigotted to the Church of Rome, the immoral tenets of the Catholics with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of putting to death, thoſe of a different perſuaſion, do not appear to have met with any reception in her breaſt. We have not only her own public declarations upon this point, a teſtimony which, at the leaſt, muſt outweigh what Elizabeth or her miniſters have averred, but her private and confidential letters; one of which to Caſtelnau, may be mentioned, on the ſubject of Parry's conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth's life. The deteſtation, expreſſed in that letter, againſt ſuch practices; and to a perſon, who had for a long tract of years poſſeſſed the moſt unreſerved confidence of her heart, will have much weight with every impartial mind *.

But we turn now to the conduct of her enemies at this period. The conſpiracy, which goes under the name of Babington, although he was not the deviſer of it, was completely detected by the Court in the month of June: The names, proceedings

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* Jebb, 674.

BOOK V.

and reſidences of thoſe engaged in it, were then known: The blow might be ſoon ſtruck: The life of Elizabeth, was in imminent hazard. The conſpirators however were not apprehended; they were permitted to enjoy complete liberty; treated as if there were not the leaſt ſuſpicion againſt them; and in this free and quiet ſtate, were they ſuffered to continue till the beginning of Auguſt, for a period, it ſhould ſeem of near two months. What could be the reaſons for ſuch a conduct? From what cauſes did the Council of England, ſuſpend the juſt vengeance of the laws, and leave their Queen's life ſtill in jeopardy? Was it on purpoſe to procure more conſpirators, and involve others in the crime?

Mary Queen of Scots continued ſtill detached from Babington and his aſſociates. Their deſtruction, was a ſmall matter compared with her's. Could ſhe be decoyed into the plot, things would put on a very new face: Babington's conſpiracy, which in reality occaſioned little dread, as it was early found out, and well guarded againſt, would prove one of the moſt grateful incidents in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Elizabeth's miniſters too, knew how much they had rendered themſelves juſtly obnoxious to the Scottiſh Princeſs: Should ſhe come to mount the throne of England, their downfall was inevitable; from which it ſhould ſeem,

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is to be explained, why they were even more zealous than their Miſtreſs, to accompliſh her ruin.

Of theſe, Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State, appears to have taken upon himſelf the chief management in concerting a plan of operations againſt the Queen of Scots; and as a model, he ſeems to have had in his eye, that, which was purſued, upon a former occaſion, by the Earl of Murray. His ſpies having early got into the confidence of the lower ſort of the conſpirators, he now employed the very agency of the latter, for his purpoſes. Learning that a packet from France was intended to be conveyed by them to Queen Mary, and by the hands of one Gilbert Gifford a prieſt, whom he had ſecretly gained over from their aſſociation, he wrote a letter to Sir Amias Paulet who had now the cuſtody of the Scottiſh Queen, requeſting that one of his domeſtics might be permitted to take a bribe, for conveying that packet to the captive Princeſs. This was, on purpoſe, to communicate to her, the forged letter already mentioned from Babington, incloſed in that packet. Paulet, to his honour, refuſed. Means were however fallen upon, to get the packet lodged in a chink of the wall of the caſtle of Chartley where the Queen was confined: And through which, it is ſaid, the diſpatches were tranſmitted.

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It ſeems not improbable, that an anſwer to Babington's letter, was written by the Scottiſh Queen's ſecretaries. Although they could not communicate that letter to herſelf, on account of her known abhorrence of aſſaſſination, they perhaps wrote a diſpatch in her name, approving of it; tempted by the proſpect of eſcaping from impriſonment, and of their Miſtreſs being ſeated on the throne of England. This diſpatch being conveyed through the ſame chink of the wall, was carried by Gifford to Walſingham; opened; decyphered, and copied by him; and then ſent to Babington. Camden informs us that Walſingham artfully forged a poſtſcript, in the ſame cypher, to this diſpatch; in which Queen Mary was made to requeſt of Babington, to inform her particularly of the names of his accomplices, and of others who were friends to the cauſe. The reply to this poſtſcript, was carried by the ſame agency to Walſingham's hands; and furniſhed him either with real or pretended information, of which, perhaps he availed himſelf much.

Nothing more being now wanted, after it was thus contrived to draw Queen Mary into the conſpiracy, Babington and his accomplices, as has been already mentioned, were immediately ſeized. A ſhort time afterward, the Queen herſelf, when taking an airing on horſeback, and totally unacquainted

quainted with what had befallen the conſpi- BOOK V.
rators, was ſuddenly carried off to the ſtrong caſtle of Fotheringay: Her cabinet and papers at Chartley were broken open, although nothing was found in them with which ſhe could be criminated: Her two Secretaries Naw and Curle were ſent priſoners to London; and whom ſhe never afterwards ſaw: And a trial on the eleventh of October, commenced againſt her, for being acceſſary to the plot againſt Elizabeth's life.

It was a thing altogether unprecedented, to try a foreign Prince, who had not entered the Kingdom in arms; but had fled thither for refuge, and upon expreſs invitation. Elizabeth had no right over an independent Queen; who was not obliged to comply with any particular ſtatutes of a foreign realm; nor to admit, that the ſubjects of another Sovereign, ſhould be her judges. And even ſetting theſe circumſtances aſide, the common forms of Juſtice, ſhould at leaſt have been obſerved. She ſhould have had the original, not the copy of her pretended letter to Babington, laid before her: She ſhould have had evidence produced, that that letter was actually delivered to her, and that ſhe returned an anſwer to it: She ſhould have been confronted with Babington; in place of which, he was ſuddenly beforehand put to death: She ſhould have been confronted with her two Secretaries now under the power

BOOK V. power of the Engliſh Court, bribes on the one hand of them, and deſtruction on the other, if they ſhoud not depone againſt their Miſtreſs; in place of which, they durſt not be brought into her preſence; notwithſtanding the ſingular uncommonneſs of the caſe and her ardent requiſition; notwithſtanding a recent and expreſs ſtatute in Elizabeth's own reign, for that very purpoſe *. Was there any cuſtom in the criminal trials of England, that could countenance ſuch a procedure, and in ſuch a caſe? Or, can any perſon, upon the moſt callous principles of rectitude and equity, ſay, That that trial was fair?

The Commiſſioners who were appointed to try the Queen of Scots, before opening the charge againſt her, deputed certain of their number, to deliver a letter to that Princeſs from Elizabeth †; in which, ſhe was informed, that judicial cognizance was to be taken of the crimes, with which ſhe was accuſed. She read the letter; and with a majeſtic air, and compoſed ſpirit, replied to

* This was an act of the 13th of her reign; ordaining that a criminal in caſes of treaſon ſhould be confronted by two witneſſes. If this were to hold in common caſes, much more in Queen Mary's; and the contrary, not being countenanced by the practice of the age, for there was no ſuch an example, muſt have been the reſult of deſign.

† October 12.

to them, "I am ſorry, the Queen my very dear Siſter, has been ill-informed concerning me; and that after having been, ſo many years, ſtrictly confined, and loſt the uſe of my limbs, the many equitable conditions I have offered in order to recover my liberty, have not been hearkened to; and myſelf abandoned. I have fully advertiſed her of many dangers, without meeting with credit; and have always been undervalued, although I am the neareſt to her, in blood. Plots, whether within or without the kingdom, I have always foreſeen would be aſcribed to me; and that I ſhould be held to be as criminal, as I am miſerable. As to her letter, it is a thing new to me, that the Queen ſhould command me as her ſubject, to ſubmit to a trial. I am an independent Queen, and will do nothing to the prejudice of Royal Majeſty: My courage is not yet abated, nor will I ſink under calamity. The laws and ſtatutes of England are to me unknown: The Commiſſioners, I do not acknowledge to be my peers: I am deſtitute of Counſellors: My papers have been taken from me: There is no perſon who dares to be an Advocate in my cauſe: Of every crime againſt your Queen I am free: I have ſtirred up no perſon againſt her life; and I am not to be accuſed but by my own words and writings, which it is impoſſible to produce againſt me. At the ſame time, I avow to you, that I have recommended

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recommended both myſelf, and my cauſe, to the aid of foreign Powers."

This ſpeech was taken down in writing, and next day upon being aſked, if ſhe adhered to it, ſhe declared her perſeverance in the ſame ſentiments. The Commiſſioners threatening now to proceed according to the forms of law, and to paſs ſentence in the cauſe, even in her abſence, ſhould ſhe perſiſt in refuſing to plead, "I am by no means a ſubject of England; (replied the Queen) and will rather periſh a thouſand times, than by acknowledging myſelf to be ſuch, to ſtoop from Royal Majeſty. I am ready to make anſwer to every charge againſt me before a free and full Parliament. Your meeting here ſeems only to be for the purpoſe of making a ſhow of maintaining the formalities of juſtice; after having prejudged and condemned me in your minds. I call upon you to conſult your conſciences; and to remember, that the theatre of the world, is greater than that of England."

The Commiſſioners ſtill inſiſting to go on, and preſenting their Commiſſion with their names in it, "What right, ſacred or civil, (ſaid ſhe) have you to proceed againſt me? I know you are not eminent Civilians, and it would be better for you to conſult with the creditable Univerſities of Europe upon this point." They replied, they were to go upon the Civil Law of England, with which they

they were ſufficiently acquainted. "You are ingenious men; (anſwered the Queen) you can make laws at your pleaſure, but I am not at all bound to ſubmit to them; in like manner as in former times, the Engliſh refuſed, to ſubject themſelves to the Salique law of France. Your law has no precedent, and your proceedings no juſtice. The late Statute * upon which your Commiſſion is founded, was enacted on purpoſe to enſnare me, and I will not ſubmit to it. I do not refuſe to anſwer the charges brought againſt me; but rather than be reduced to the rank of a ſubject of England, and to anſwer as a criminal, I will utterly periſh."

This afflicted but undaunted Princeſs, after having thus, ſcorned the competency and repelled the pretexts of the Commiſſioners, was induced at laſt, by arguments under the inſidious maſk of candour and friendſhip, to depart from the proper and dignified ground which ſhe had taken, and conſent to that mode of the trial which had been propoſed. It was repreſented to her by Hatton the vice-chamberlain, that by rejecting a trial, ſhe

* That Act, paſſed the preceding year, appointed to death all perſons whatever, whether Engliſh ſubjects or not, who ſhould conſpire, or in whoſe favour any conſpiracy ſhould be formed, againſt Queen Elizabeth. A meaſure, ſubverſive of juſtice and the law of nations; and directly intended for the deſtruction of the Queen of Scots.

BOOK V.

she injured her own reputation and interests, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of setting her innocence in a clear light to the present and to future times. Imposed upon by this artifice, she consented to make her appearance before the judges; at the same time however, she still protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and the validity of all their proceedings.

On the fourteenth of October, the English Commissioners, meeting in a body, commenced their judicial proceedings against the Queen of Scots. They assembled in the hall of the castle of Fotheringay in which she was confined; and arranged themselves with no little study, in the following order: On one side of the hall, were seated the chancellor and the treasurer of England, along with ten of the nobles; before whom on benches, were the two chief justices, other public officers, and two doctors of the civil law. On the other, thirteen barons; and before them, six knights, privy councillors. In the middle, the English Queen's attorney, solicitor, serjeant, clerk of the crown, and two notaries. At one end of the hall, a throne in honour of the English Queen; at the other, a chair for the Scottish Princess.

When this numerous assembly had taken their places, the Queen of Scots, without an attendant, made her entrance into the hall. Silence

Silence was commanded. The charges a- BOOK V.
gainſt her were ſtated. She heard them attentively; without emotion; and made ſome obſervations. When theſe were finiſhed, with princely dignity ſhe roſe from her ſeat; and with a preſence and a courage of mind, which ſeem to have belonged only to herſelf, made her defence.

" If the Queen my ſiſter, has given you a commiſſion to render me juſtice, it is very reaſonable that you ſhould open it, rather by granting a relief from my hardſhips, than by the oppreſſion of my innocence. I came into England, to implore help againſt the rebellion of my ſubjects; the blood, the propinquity, the ſex, the neighbourhood, the title of Queen that I bear, promiſed me every ſatisfaction; but I have met there with my moſt ſenſible diſtreſſes. Lo! Almoſt the twentieth year, that I have been held priſoner; without cauſe, without pretence, without pity, and what is more, without hope. I am not at all the ſubject of your Miſtreſs, but a free and independent Queen; I have to anſwer only to God, the ſovereign judge of my actions, and am not to degrade the character of Royal Majeſty, neither my ſon the King of Scotland, nor his ſucceſſors, and other ſovereign princes of the earth. This is the proteſtation which I have made, and which I repeat in your preſences, before anſwering to the criminal charges which are brought againſt me.

The

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The blackeſt of ſlanders, charges me with having conſpired the death of my very dear Couſin; and after much ſophiſtry, the whole proof reduces itſelf to the letters of Babington, to the depoſition of my Secretaries, and to the ſolicitations I have made to foreign Princes, to draw their arms againſt England. I ſhall anſwer effectually to each of theſe heads; and make the juſtice of my cauſe, clearly appear to all who are impartial.

And in the firſt place, I ſwear and proteſt, that I have never been acquainted with this Babington, who makes here the principal figure in the affair; I have received no letter from him (*upon that ſubject*), and he can have received none from me. I have always had a horror at the violent and fatal counſels which tended to the ruin of Queen Elizabeth; and I am ready to produce letters from perſons, who having undertaken ſome wicked interpriſe, have excuſed themſelves to me, for having diſcovered nothing of it, becauſe they knew well, that my ſpirit was repugnant to ſuch deſigns. I cannot know, as I am a priſoner, what Babington and his accomplices have done: He may have written whatever he pleaſed, but I know well that I have not ſeen nor heard (*read*) any of his letters; and if there is to be found an anſwer written by me, to things which have not once entered my imagination, it is an

an abominable fabrication. We are not in an age nor in a kingdom, where the art of forgery is unknown; I am informed that Walſingham one of your number, who has conſpired my death and that of my ſon, employs ſuch artifices; and may have made himſelf maſter of my cyphers, to counterfeit a letter in my name, in anſwer to that of Babington which he had intercepted. The other (*Babington*) has innocently believed and depoſed, that that anſwer came from me; but all this is only a ſimple conjecture (*of mine*) *. It would require a million of proofs clearer than the rays of the ſun, to overwhelm a Sovereign Queen, who comprehends under her authority ſo many millions of lives; and is any one to believe againſt me, an obſcure man, a man half-dead, who told all he knew, and knew not, in order to deliver himſelf from the horrible cruelties of the rack? Let there be produced one ſingle letter in my hand-writing, one ſingle ſuſpicion of this crime, I ſhall hold myſelf convicted. I declare, with the full ſincerity of my heart, and with tears in my eyes, that I would not conquer a Kingdom by the blood of the meaneſt

* It was exactly what happened in fact: Babington duped by Walſingham, believed the letter in the Queen's name to be genuine; and he acknowledged it to be ſo, as well as his own anſwers.

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meaneſt perſon taken from the dregs of the people; and far leſs, by that, of a Queen. I will never make ſhipwreck of my ſoul, by conſpiring the ruin of a perſon, to whom I have vowed ſuch honour and friendſhip.

As to my Secretaries, I have always known them to be men of good character; if they have charged and accuſed me by their depoſitions, to have dictated to them an anſwer to Babington, they have committed two great acts of wickedneſs, Firſt in violating the oath which they took to be ſecret and faithful to their miſtreſs, And next, in inventing ſo deteſtable a calumny againſt her, to whom they owe all reſpect and all fidelity; inſomuch that all the evidence which you can draw from them, comes only from perfidious men. Alas, juſt God! there is an end to the Majeſty and to the ſafety of Princes, if they are to depend upon the writings and the teſtimonies of their Secretaries, in affairs of ſo great importance. How many are there not of them, who give themſelves up to the purſuit of riches? How many others give way to the threats of the great? They are the pupils of Fortune, who follow the flux and the reflux of her inconſtancy. If theſe poor men have depoſed what you ſay, againſt me, it has been, in order to deliver themſelves from the horror of your puniſhments, and to lay all (*blame*)

upon

upon a Crowned head, which they conſidered to be without the reach of your Commiſſions. BOOK V.

But what kind of Lawyers are you, to have put Babington to death, without confronting him with me; to have opened his mouth by force of torture, in order to tell a lie, and then to have ſhut it forever againſt the truth *? If my Secretaries be ſtill alive, make them come into my preſence; make them ſpeak; and I am certain they will not at all perſiſt in that depoſition which you ſtate againſt me. Is it not quite manifeſt, that you proceed in this matter, diſhoneſtly; and that you borrow theſe little formalities, only in order to give ſome ſlight gloſs to your conduct in having prejudged me?

Never have I dictated any thing to my ſervants, but what nature ſuggeſted to me, for the recovery of my liberty. This is the third objection in your proceedings: And I aſk you, if I have committed a great crime in having wiſhed for a bleſſing which the public ſuffrage teaches us; which the laws approve; which all men practiſe; which nature teaches the young nightingales, even in the cage? What can a perſon do who

* Babington did not tell what he thought to be a lie, although it was one: He was impoſed upon by a forged letter from Queen Mary.

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finds himſelf in irons, but to implore the relief of his friends, and to wiſh that ſome powerful hand ſhould open the priſon to him? I acknowledge I have had the wiſh for liberty; but I deny that I have ſought to obtain it, by the means which you allege. It is a thing very ſtrange, that a woman in priſon, whoſe every action is watched, and whoſe every ſtep is counted, ſhould do ſuch things that ſovereigns can hardly ſtir for fear, in the midſt of uncontrolled and abſolute power. I have been many years held in the chains of a miſerable captivity, without the offers which I have made, the aſſurances which I have given, the decline of my age and of my health, having been able to move my ſiſter to ſet me free. Have not I offered to contract a moſt intimate friendſhip with her, to love her and to reſpect her moſt courteouſly above all Chriſtian Princes, to commit to oblivion all offences, to recogniſe her to be the true and legitimate Queen of England, giving up all my rights for the bleſſing of peace, neither pretending to, nor taking any part in her Crown during her life; and renouncing altogether the Titles and Arms of this kingdom, which I took upon me, by the command of Henry the Second King of France, —Without theſe ſubmiſſions taken all together, having operated any thing towards my deliverance? Have not I been held very culpable,

culpable, when I wiſhed that foreign Princes my friends and my allies, ſhould draw me out of this depth of miſery; and yet never have I wiſhed to inveſt the King of Spain with the rights which he pretends to the Crown of England, however offended he was at it; for I reſpected my ſiſter, even ſo far as to have neglected my life and my deliverance, in order not to irritate her; and loved rather to employ the devotions of Eſther, than the weapon of Judith? I ſay and declare ſtill at this time, that ſince England has ſhown ſuch little equity to me, that I ought not, nor will not, deſpiſe the aſſiſtance of other Kings; and in the mildeſt manner, that I can, ſecond it. I have declared ſincerely to you, my reſolutions and my ſentiments upon this accuſation, That if right and equity are to give way to power, and that if force is to lord it over truth among men, I ſhall appeal to the living God, who has an abſolute empire both over Queen Elizabeth and me. I ſwear by my God, and by my honour, that it is long ſince I have thought of any other kingdom, but that of heaven, which I look to as the termination of my long miſeries. I truſt I have anſwered all your objections; and you know well in your conſciences, that there is no charge againſt me but my birth; nothing that renders me criminal but my religion: But I cannot belie what God

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has made me to be; and I cannot renounce the character that I received, on the day of my baptiſm. I have lived and ſhall die a Catholic; this is the ſole crime where I deſire no advocates to defend me; where I deſire the whole world to be witneſs; and where I have no fear of the moſt formidable judges *."

Such was the defence, which Queen Mary made before the Engliſh Commiſſioners. We hardly can comprehend, how any perſons whatever, in ſuch a ſituation, could have acquitted themſelves as ſhe did; notwithſtanding the ſenſe of innocence with which ſhe was born up; and the ſpirit, talents and dignity, which we have ſeen her diſplay on former occaſions. "Two different days," ſays a great hiſtorian, "did Mary appear before the Judges, and in every part of her behaviour maintained the magnanimity of a Queen, tempered with the gentleneſs and modeſty of a woman †."

The favourable circumſtances on the ſide of Queen Mary, in this cauſe, were her conſenting to the trial, ſolely with a view to manifeſt her innocence, notwithſtanding the incompetency of the Judges; from which it appears, ſhe was not afraid of the evidence that might be produced againſt her: Babington

* Jebb. 85. &c. Camden, 417. &c.
† Principal Robertſon.

Babington who witneſſed againſt her, being put to death before the trial: Her two domeſtic Secretaries, whom it is unnatural to ſuppoſe could be carried off, otherwiſe than by bribes, not having been confronted with her: The ſums of money which on the morning of her death *, ſhe appointed to be paid to theſe very Secretaries; than which nothing could more prove her magnanimous forgiveneſs, and the ſenſe ſhe had, to the laſt, that they had been involuntarily perverted to depoſe that they had written the letter to Babington at her deſire: Secretary Walſingham's having actually forged a part, at leaſt, of that letter †: Her own ſolemn declaration, deteſting the crime; to which we cannot but give much heed, from her undiſputed religious principles: And the bold avowal ſhe made of the truth of all the other charges brought againſt her, however operating to her diſadvantage. From all which, joined with the other circumſtances which have already appeared in favour of her innocence, it hardly can be concluded, upon any principles of candour or of probability, that Queen Mary participated in the conſpiracy of Babington.

The Commiſſioners after having heard the defences made by the Scottiſh Princeſs, inſtead of replying to her arguments, or of

* Goodall, I. 413. † Camden, 515.

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granting her juſt demands, adjourned by Queen Elizabeth's expreſs orders, to the Star-Chamber at Weſtminſter; ordered Nau and Curle to be brought before them there, who confirmed upon oath, their former declaration; found the Queen of Scots to be an acceſſary to Babington's conſpiracy; and paſſed ſentence againſt her, in the terms of the ſtatute for the ſecurity of Elizabeth's life *. A few days afterward, both Houſes of Parliament ratified the proceedings of the Commiſſioners; declared the ſentence to be juſt; and demanded, agreeable to that ſtatute, the puniſhment of death.

Parliament and the nation, were in ſome meaſure, taken by ſurpriſe. An alarm had been induſtriouſly ſpread, not only, that the Engliſh Queen's life was threatened; but that, the eſtabliſhed religion, and the public ſafety were in danger. And alarms, ſeldom fail of having great force upon the minds of almoſt all men. In a ſtate of that kind, they are not only terrified by apprehenſions; but what may ſeem ſtrange, to thoſe who are unſkilled in the nature of the human mind, they act, during ſuch fits of perturbation, without making inquiry, whether there really be any grounds at all, for their fears.

But at that particular juncture we are now referring to, it muſt be obſerved, that the nation were beſides, in a great degree, blinded by the ſtatute which has been already mentioned

* October 25.

mentioned. Habituated to arbitrary meaſures, they did not diſtinguiſh between the cauſe of an Engliſh ſubject, and that of perſons without the realm: Cauſes, which the law of nations, and eternal juſtice diſcriminate from one another. It was ſufficient, that there was a ſtatute: They were ready to revere it. Parliament repreſented, and ſolicited, and beſeeched Elizabeth, not to ſuffer her life ſo dear, to be any longer in hazard; to enforce the law; and to put the Queen of Scots to death. Elizabeth, gratified to the heart, but perfect miſtreſs of hypocriſy, pretended the utmoſt averſion to grant her acquieſcence: She begged, that ſhe might not be forced to the infamy, of taking away the life of her near and beloved kinſwoman, Queen Mary.

This anſwer was underſtood. Parliament, and even the nation at large, ſaw, that Elizabeth wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the death of the Scottiſh Princeſs; and which, in obedience to her will, they were zealous to haſten. That a whole people, if left to themſelves, ſhould be unjuſt, inhuman, cruel, cannot eaſily be believed: It is to the influence of deſpotical power in thoſe ages, as well as to perſonal malice, that we muſt aſcribe the death of Mary Queen of Scots: It is chiefly to that ſame influence, that we muſt trace the fame which in times that are paſſed, has celebrated the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

THE

THE HISTORY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK VI.

The hiſtory of Queen Mary, from her trial at Fotheringay, till her death.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, on the firſt of February, the following year,* ſigned the warrant for Queen Mary's execution. At the ſame time, torn with diſquiet, and with apprehenſions of the infamy which would attend ſuch a deed, ſhe anxiouſly wiſhed, by all means whatever, to conceal, that ſhe

BOOK VI.

* 1587.

BOOK VI. ſhe had given her conſent to it; and to roll the odium from herſelf upon others. For this purpoſe, moſt unjuſtly, ſhe criminated Daviſon one of her Secretaries; and afterward put him in priſon, on the pretext, that he had ſent off the warrant without her knowledge; while, in truth, ſhe had ſubſcribed the warrant, herſelf; and expreſsly had ordered it to be put in execution.

Elizabeth had often hinted to Paulet and Drury, and to others of her Court, to rid her of the Scottiſh Queen; and in ſuch terms, that they ſaw, ſhe pointed at poiſon, or ſome other means of violent and ſecret death. At laſt, by her expreſs deſire, Sir Francis Walſingham and Secretary Daviſon, wrote a letter, on the firſt of February, to Paulet and Drury; in which, they repreſented, "That their Miſtreſs had remarked in them both, a want of that care and zeal for her ſervice, which ſhe looked for at their hands; in that, they had not, in all that time, found out ſome way to ſhorten the life of the Queen of Scots; and that ſhe took it moſt unkindly, that they ſhould caſt the burden upon her." Paulet, with all his defects, was a man of rectitude and conſcience. He and Drury, returned an anſwer next day from Fotheringay, "Which (ſaid Paulet) I ſhall deliver to you, with great grief and bitterneſs of mind; in that I am ſo unhappy, as living to ſee this unhappy day, in which

I am required, by direction from my moſt gracious Sovereign, to do an act, which God and the law forbid. God forbid, I ſhould make ſo foul a ſhipwreck of my conſcience, or leave ſo great a blot to my poor poſterity."

When Daviſon carried this anſwer to his Miſtreſs, ſhe exclaimed with wrath againſt Paulet as a man of a "dainty, preciſe, and perjured" character; and ſaid ſhe would employ one Wingfield, who would not heſitate to ſtrike the blow. Daviſon himſelf upon this, taking more courage, it ſhould ſeem, from the example of Paulet, remonſtrated warmly againſt the meaſure, in all reſpects whatever; and the Queen, in diſguſt and vexation, was obliged to deſiſt.

Queen Mary had been early informed, that ſhe was condemned to die; but no intimation was given her, with reſpect to the execution of the ſentence; or to any time or warrant, for that purpoſe. She was prepared to meet death, at all times; but ſhe did not look for it, at that period. Conſcious of innocence, as to the conſpiracy of Babington; and certain that her trial, by all impartial perſons, would be conſidered not only as unjuſt and unprecedented, but moſt illegally carried through, ſhe ſaw what odium her execution would fix upon the Court and people of England; and could not conceive they would expoſe themſelves to it; as ſuch

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a conduct, could be aſcribed to nothing, but perſonal malice or religious perſecution.

On the other ſide, it manifeſtly appears, that Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſters, were not only determined, at all events, upon her deſtruction; but moſt carefully concealed the intention they had to execute the ſentence. They reſolved to ſurprize, and to ſhock her with it; to give her the ſhorteſt poſſible notice; to embitter her laſt hours with reproaches; to inſult her on account of her religion; and by captious and deſigning queſtions, to betray her into anſwers, which they might conſtrue, either into a confeſſion of guilt, or a recantation of her faith.

The conduct of the Queen of Scots, in the period between the warrant for her death being communicated to her, and the time of execution, which did not exceed eighteen hours, is among the moſt ſignal of her life; whether we conſider, the many worldly affairs ſhe ſettled, the ſpiritual exerciſes in which ſhe engaged, or the altercations into which ſhe was forced, and the inſults which ſhe was obliged to ſuſtain. It has been juſtly remarked, by one of the writers upon her hiſtory*, That had a perſon for a number of years, been preparing for nothing elſe but death, he could not have met it, with more recollection, prudence, courage and devotion, than ſhe did.

A

* Jebb, 96.

A profound ſilence, had been maintained from the day *, on which ſhe was condemned. On the morning of the ſeventh of February, the day before ſhe ſuffered, a conſiderable number of perſons, who were to aſſiſt at the execution, repaired ſecretly to the Caſtle of Fotheringay, where they dined. Soon after, the Earl of Kent made his appearance; and at an interval, the Earl of Shrewſbury. Not a whiſper, yet tranſpired. The ſervants however of the devoted Queen, notwithſtanding that all ſeemed caſual and unconcerted, took a ſtrong alarm, when they at laſt, remarked ſomething very unuſual in the manner of that viſit. But they did not communicate their fears to their Miſtreſs: She had been indiſpoſed for ſeveral days, and was confined to bed. BOOK VI.

A meſſage from the Earls themſelves, at two o'clock in the afternoon, was ſent to the Queen; deſiring, that they ſhould be admitted to her preſence. She returned, in anſwer, that ſhe was ill; but if their buſineſs were important or preſſing, ſhe would riſe from her bed, and give them an audience.

Upon this, being admitted into her bedchamber, they cauſed the warrant for her death, which was a paper of ſome length, immediately to be read; after which, Lord Shrewſbury, ſpoke for ſome time upon the juſtice of it; and how deſirable it was to the Engliſh nation.

Queen

* October 23.

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Queen Mary heard the whole to an end, without emotion; and having croſſed herſelf, in the name of God, "I did not think, (ſaid ſhe) that the Queen my ſiſter, would have gone ſo far as this *(the execution of the ſentence)*; but ſince ſuch is her pleaſure, death is moſt welcome to me: That ſoul would not be worthy of heavenly and eternal joys, whoſe body was unwilling to endure the ſtroke of the executioner. I call heaven and earth, to witneſs my innocence; and the only conſolation which I have, in ſo ignominious a ſcene, is that I die for the religion of my fathers. I pray God, to increaſe my fortitude, in proportion to my diſtreſſes; and to accept of the death I am now to ſuffer, as an expiation of my ſins. I have for many years paſt, been ready to meet with death; not doubting, that this would be the iſſue of my long captivity in England; yet, after having been ſo often ſaved from the ſnares which were ſpread for me, and from the dangers to which I was expoſed, I ventured not to promiſe to myſelf ſo glorious an end, as to have my blood ſhed for my religion, and to endure torments in the cauſe of God; to Whom on that account, with joined hands, I give thanks, and acknowledge the love which he ſhows to me. I have always loved the country of England, and the Queen my good ſiſter; as I have ſufficiently and often evidenced by the intimations I have communicated

municated of the dangers that either threatened her perſon or the State; and by the offers which I have made for the ſupport of the public weal, and for the tranquillity of a country, into which I was invited, by the expreſs promiſe of it's Queen, in order to receive conſolation and ſuccour." After enlarging upon this, and ſuch topics, ſhe proceeded,—" And as to conſpiracies, I ſwear (laying her hand at the ſame time upon a Bible that was on the table before her), That I have never deviſed, nor conſented to, nor purſued the death of the Queen of England."

Upon pronouncing theſe words, the Earl of Kent advanced, and ſaid, that her oath was of no weight, as it was made over a Popiſh verſion of the Scriptures. " That verſion, ſhe replied, I hold to be the beſt; and for that very reaſon, my oath, is to be held as the ſtrongeſt declaration of the truth." On this, the Earl began a diſcourſe upon the ſubject of religion. For her conſolation and better inſtruction, he offered her the aid of the Dean of Peterborough; a clergyman of the Engliſh Church, whom they had brought along with them, and who, he ſaid, was the moſt learned in Europe. It was now time he ſaid, to acknowledge her offences, and to embrace the true religion. Her own, he told her, was folly and abomination; and as he knew her to be a woman of under-

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ſtanding and judgment, ſhe ought to hear what could be ſaid againſt Popery as well, as for it. "Your life, ſaid he, will be the death of our religion; and your death, will be the life of it."

The Queen replied, "I have been long and well inſtructed in my religion: I have heard learned and good men ſpeak upon the true doctrines which pertain to ſalvation; and after I have had no opportunity of hearing, on account of my captivity, I have read the ableſt authors; and am confirmed without a doubt, in the Catholic faith. As to your religion, the Earl of Shrewſbury who is here preſent, will teſtify, that I have already heard, and converſed with the ableſt preachers of the Proteſtant Religion; and I have found nothing to induce me to a change. God has given me grace to be ſteady. I will rather endure all torments and the loſs of life, than relinquiſh my religious principles; and ſhall be happy to die in ſupport of them."

She aſked, if they had any anſwers to communicate from their Miſtreſs, with reſpect to the favours ſhe had requeſted from her, in her laſt letter? They replied, they had none. "Have you no authority to allow me the benefit of my own Confeſſor to attend me in preparing for death; the only thing I require more in this world?" They anſwered, that, that was againſt their religion

gion and conſcience; and urged again the assiſtance of the Dean of Peterborough. "When I was in leſs need of my Confeſſor, ſaid ſhe, your Miſtreſs allowed him to come to me; and ſhe has now taken him from me, in the hour of the greateſt need: A conduct that is unworthy, cruel, and inhuman." BOOK VI.

She made inquiries concerning her two Secretaries; and aſked, if ever it had been known in the worſt of times, that the ſervants of a Sovereign Princeſs, had been admitted to ſuborn themſelves for the purpoſe of deſtroying her? They made no anſwer. She repreſented, that although ſhe was ready to die, they had given her no time to prepare for death. "It is ſtrange, you have not advertiſed me ſooner, that I might have made my teſtament; ſettled my affairs; and made my conſcience eaſy, as to my poor ſervants and creditors." "No, No, Madam, ſaid the Earl of Shrewſbury; you muſt die, you muſt die: Be ready before eight o'clock to-morrow morning." The Queen added no more; but her phyſician ſeeing the Earls ready to depart, applied to them moſt earneſtly of his own accord, in an addreſs of ſome length, to conſider the rank of his Miſtreſs, and the importance and multiplicity of the affairs ſhe had to ſettle. On thoſe accounts, he entreated, that they would poſtpone the execution, a few days more. But they paid no attention to his requeſts.

BOOK VI. So ſoon as they withdrew, all her domeſtics flocked round her, diſſolved in tears; and almoſt unable to expreſs their ſentiments, by any other means, than ſobs and cries. Queen Mary, ever equal to herſelf, and qualified to act well on all occaſions, great or ſmall, while ſhe was pleaſed with their tenderneſs and ſorrow, remained tranquil and unmoved "My children, ſaid ſhe, it is not the time to weep: That is of no avail: You ought rather to rejoice, that I am ſo near the end of my miſeries; and to conſole yourſelves with the thought, that God has choſen me, to die in his cauſe."

After her men-ſervants had withdrawn from her chamber, and were ſtill more affected by what ſhe ſaid, than they had been even at firſt, ſhe fell upon her knees, with all her women round her, and continued in prayer to God, for a conſiderable time.

A great part of the evening, ſhe next ſpent in looking over the inventory of her effects, and the accounts of her money; writing down legacies out of them to her relations, and to all her ſervants. She ordered ſupper ſomewhat earlier than uſual, that ſhe might have time after it was over, to employ herſelf in the many different offices and duties that ſtill remained. At ſupper, her converſation addreſſed to Burgoin her phyſician, turned chiefly upon the Earl of Kent, and the ſpeech he had made to her, about Religion.

gion. From his diſcourſe, ſhe obſerved, whatever other pretexts were uſed for taking away her life, it was plain, that her Religion was the cauſe, for which ſhe was to ſuffer. As to Kent's attempt to bring her over to the Proteſtant faith, ſhe could not refrain from ſmiling, at his unfitneſs for ſuch an office. "If I am to be converted, ſaid ſhe, it muſt be by ſome other Doctor, than Lord Kent." BOOK VI.

After ſupper, ſhe called in all her ſervants and drank to them. Having deſired them to take ſome wine, they fell upon their knees, and mingling tears with it, drank to their Miſtreſs; at the ſame time they aſked her forgiveneſs, if they had ever offended her; and ſhe, on her part, aſked their's if ſhe had failed, in her duty towards them. She bade them wipe off their tears, and make themſelves eaſy. Afterward, ſhe gave them advices at conſiderable length, "To diſcharge their duty to God, to perſevere in the faith, and to live in peace and charity together. She begged them, in the name of God, to baniſh all enmity and malice from their hearts, all worldly deſires, ambition and pride; to bury in oblivion, the paſſed quarrels and diſſentions that had prevailed among them; and for the future, to be of one accord, living like Chriſtian brethren together."

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Having now laid aſide all hope of enjoying an opportunity to ſpeak with her Confeſſor, (who was ſecluded from her in an apartment of the Caſtle) in order to diſpoſe of her ſoul to God, and to obtain the remiſſion of ſins, agreeable to the inſtitutions of her religion; ſhe ſat down about nine o'clock of the evening, and among other particulars, wrote to him, "That ſhe had requeſted to have him, that ſhe might make her Confeſſion, and receive the Sacrament; but this, was cruelly refuſed. To ſupply that defect, ſhe confeſſed the grievouſneſs of her ſins in general, as ſhe had intended to do to him, in particular; begging him in the name of God, to pray and to watch that night, with her, for the forgiveneſs of her ſins. She requeſted him, to let her know the moſt proper prayers for that night, and for the next morning. The time ſhe ſaid was ſhort, and ſhe had no leiſure to write. She again begged of him, to let her know, of all that he ſhould think neceſſary, for her ſalvation *."

The Queen next, wrote her Teſtament with her own hand, upon two large leaves of paper, without ſtopping and without lifting her hand from them; in which, ſhe appointed her executors, and forgot no perſon, preſent nor abſent; dividing to each, according to their ranks and merits.

After

* Jebb, 303.

After this, ſhe addreſſed a letter of ſome length to the King of France; dated "Wedneſday two hours after midnight." She complained to him, of the injuries and inſults which were committed againſt her; related the abrupt and cruel manner, in which ſentence of death was denounced to be executed, next morning; and referred him, for particulars at large, to her phyſician and other diſconſolate ſervants. "Thanks to God, ſaid ſhe, I deſpiſe death; and with perfect truth, proteſt that I meet it, innocent of every crime; even although I were an Engliſh ſubject, which I never was. I die for the Catholic Religion, and for maintaining the Right which God has given me to the Crown of England; Theſe are the two grounds of my condemnation. This bearer and his companions, will teſtify as to my deportment, in this my laſt ſcene. It remains, that I beg of you, as the Moſt Chriſtian King, my brother-in-law, and who have done me ſo much honour as to declare you love me, that now you may give a proof of it, by recompenſing my afflicted ſervants; and by making prayers to be offered to God for a Queen, who likewiſe had the title of Moſt Chriſtian; and who now dies, in the Catholic faith *."

Queen Mary afterward, wrote another ſeparate paper to the King, chiefly relating

* Jebb, 619.

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to the care she wished to be taken of her servants; dated, "The morning of my death."

She addressed likewise, a letter to the Duke of Guise; full of expressions that awake pity and regret.

Historians agree, that after all these offices were performed, she gave herself up to prayer; to meditation; and to the reading of the Lives of the Saints. They differ in this, that some relate, she passed the whole remainder of the night, in continual prayer and devout meditation; others, that she laid herself upon her bed, and enjoyed some hours of placid sleep; and which from the vigour she discovered next morning, seems probably to have been the case.

About six o'clock in the morning, the Queen was engaged again in prayer; and read the Passion of our Lord, with her naked knees upon the floor. After being for some time employed in these religious exercises, about the break of day, she dressed herself in robes which she had been accustomed to wear upon festival occasions, and called all her servants into her presence: Causing her Will to be read to them, she begged them to accept the small legacies she had bequeathed to them; and which would have been greater, she said, if her situation had allowed. She kissed her women-attendants, and permitted the men-servants to kiss her

her hand. Tears, and ſobs, and loud cries, were all the anſwers, which were returned. BOOK VI.

The Queen of Scots withdrew once more into her Antichamber, where ſhe continued a long time; and took the Sacrament, by means of a conſecrated hoſte, which ſhe had obtained for that purpoſe, from the Pope. She continued on her knees before the Altar, which ſhe had ſet up there; her women kneeling around her, till the hour of execution. When the Grand Sheriff entered the apartment, to announce that the time appointed for her death was arrived, he ſtood there for ſome time unobſerved: The Queen was abſorbed in devotion, and her poor attendants had given themſelves entirely up to grief. The moment Queen Mary perceived the Sheriff, ſhe roſe up; and with a placid but a majeſtic countenance, told him, ſhe was ready to go with him. Aſſiſtance however was neceſſary, as ſhe was too feeble in body, to walk down to the Hall. Her domeſtics on that occaſion, declared it was impoſſible for them, to give their help: They could not endure the thought, that they ſhould lead their beloved Miſtreſs to death. Pleaſed with this mark of their pious affection, ſhe accepted of the aſſiſtance of two of Paulet's ſervants; on whoſe ſhoulders leaning her arms, ſhe ſet forwards.

At

BOOK VI. At the foot of the ſtairs which led down from her apartments, ſhe was received by the Earls of Shrewſbury and Kent. At the ſame place, Sir Andrew Melvil, the maſter of her houſehold, who had been debarred from her preſence for ſome weeks before that, was permitted to be preſent. He threw himſelf down on his knees before her; with tears declared the ſenſe he had of the indignities ſhe was ſuffering; and with what ſorrow he was to carry the ſad accounts of ſuch a death, to Scotland.

"Weep not, good Melvil, ſaid ſhe, but rather rejoice, that this day, you are to ſee Mary Stuart, delivered from all her miſeries. In this world, there is nothing but vanity and vexation: Although you are a Proteſtant, and I a Catholic, yet as there is but one Chriſt, I charge you, as if before God, to tell, that I have lived, and am to die faithful to the Catholic religion. Tell my ſon, that I exhort him with my whole heart, to continue in the faith of his anceſtors; to love juſtice; to govern his people in peace; and to attempt nothing againſt the Queen of England. I have done nothing to the prejudice of the kingdom of Scotland; and I remain firm in my faithful attachment to France. Tell my ſon, I have never executed any deed prejudicial to his crown or his intereſts. May God, pardon all thoſe who have thirſted for my blood, as the hart for

the

the water-brooks. Thou O God! Who art truth itſelf, and Who readeſt the moſt ſecret thoughts of my heart, knoweſt how much I have deſired the peace and union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland."

After pronouncing thoſe words, her uſual fortitude, for a moment, failed her: She ſhed a few tears; but inſtantly wiped them off. She aſked if ſhe were now to have the preſence, and benefit of her confeſſor? The Earls refuſed. Upon which, ſhe interceded in behalf of her poor ſervants, that they might be permitted to leave the kingdom unmoleſted; and particularly, that they might now, eſpecially her women, be allowed to attend her to the ſcaffold; be witneſſes to her conduct, and diſcharge the laſt duties to their dying miſtreſs. The Earl of Kent was extremely averſe from granting this favour. She begged it might be allowed her, "If not from courteſy, at leaſt, from humanity. The Queen my ſiſter, being of the ſame ſex, would certainly, from conſiderations of decency, not refuſe, that women ſhould attend me on this occaſion." The Earl of Shrewſbury felt himſelf obliged to interpoſe; and granted, that two of her female attendants, and a few of her men-ſervants, might accompany her thither.

With this attendance ſhe now advanced, Sir Andrew Melvil bearing her train. She aſcended the ſcaffold, without any change of

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of countenance; and ſat down on a chair which was prepared for her. The warrant for her execution was now read; and which ſhe heard to the end, with complacence and tranquillity. Turning to the Earls, and to the ſpectators, who to the number of about three hundred, had aſſembled to ſee this horrid ſcene: "It is a new ſpectacle (ſaid ſhe), to behold a Queen die upon a ſcaffold. But I am a ſovereign Princeſs; and cannot with juſtice, be ſubjected to the laws of this realm. I am the near relation of Queen Elizabeth, and the lawful ſucceſſor to the crown of England. After having been wrongfully, long detained a priſoner here, where I have endured ſo much miſery, without any right, but what force gives, to be ſo treated, I now, in the view of death, thank God, that I am to die for my religion; and before this aſſembly, who will witneſs that I end my life in the Catholic faith. I declare before the living God, that I have never attempted any thing againſt the life or the government of my couſin; nor have been guilty of any thing which merits ſuch a puniſhment; unleſs I ſhall be charged with my religion, for which, I deem myſelf happy to ſhed my blood. I place all my hopes in him, Who is repreſented by this crucifix, which I hold in my hand; and I promiſe myſelf, that the temporal death which I am to ſuffer for His name, will be the beginning of an eternal

eternal life with the angels and bleſſed ſpirits above. I heartily pardon all perſons, who have done me wrong; and I beg they will forgive me if I have done any thing amiſs towards them.

When the Queen made this ſpeech, there was hardly a ſingle perſon preſent who heard it with dry eyes. The very executioners, falling down on their knees, begged her forgiveneſs for the office they were to perform.

It remained only, that ſhe ſhould now diſrobe herſelf of part of her dreſs; and after offering up to God, her laſt prayers, to meet unmoleſted, her doom; when a ſcene followed, the moſt barbarous that is upon record. The Earls of Kent and Shrewſbury, and the Dean of Peterborough, at their inſtance and that of Queen Elizabeth, broke in upon the few ſacred moments that remained. The Dean began an invective againſt the whole of her paſt life; reproached her with her conduct to Queen Elizabeth; inſulted her upon her religion; and, at ſuch an hour as that was, and after ſuch firm declarations as ſhe had made to the contrary, attempted to convert her from the faith, which ſhe had embraced from the very beginning of life. A treatment, and a ſpeech of that kind, could have only been the effect of inſtruction from his ſuperiors; and of the hopes, which it appears he had, from ſuch brutality, to recommend himſelf to the Engliſh

BOOK VI. liſh Court *. The Earls joined in inſiſting to the ſame purpoſe; and actually praying, in a form compoſed by the Dean, for her, as a criminal of the higheſt delinquency. Kent reproached her, for her crucifix. "You ſhould have it in your heart, ſaid he, not in your hand."——"I hold the crucifix in my hand, replied the Queen, but it is likewiſe in my heart: It repreſents to my eyes the Saviour ſuffering by wicked men, upon the croſs; and enables me, to meet with my ſufferings."

Such inſults would have proved worſe than death, to the bulk of mankind; but Queen Mary was elevated above them, and not of that ſpirit, to be daunted, or even to be diſconcerted. At the very time that the Earls and the Dean, were employed in ſuch malicious devotion, ſhe fell upon her knees, and, in the Latin tongue, pronounced aloud, prayers to the Virgin and to the Saints, to intercede for the ſalvation of her ſoul.

When they had ended, and all was again ſilence, Queen Mary, reſuming her devotions, prayed, in the Engliſh language, with ſuch earneſtneſs and fervour, that all preſent, were to appearance, more affected than herſelf. "Send me, O God! Thy Holy Spirit, to enlighten me; to grant me perſeverance and patience to ſuffer for the Catholic Church; for the union and quiet of Chriſtendom

* Principal Robertſon's Appendix, 18.

ſtendom; for peace among Chriſtian Princes; for the reſtoration of the true religion, and comfort to the perſecuted. Turn thy wrath O God! from this iſland: Shew thy favour, and mercy to my Son. Pardon Queen Elizabeth, and all my enemies. I am unworthy to be heard, and am filled with humility on account of my ſins; but through the death and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, through that blood which He ſhed for ſinners, O God! I ſupplicate mercy." Taking then, the crucifix into her hands; lifting it up and kiſſing it, ſhe thus concluded her devotions, "As Thy arms O Lord Jeſus Chriſt! were extended on the Croſs, in like manner, receive me within the outſtretched arms of Thy mercy; and pardon all my ſins." BOOK VI.

She laſtly prepared herſelf for the axe, by taking off the attire upon her neck; and one of the executioners, endeavouring to help her, ſhe bade him deſiſt. As an apology for not diſrobing herſelf more readily, ſhe ſaid with a ſmile, "I have not been accuſtomed to undreſs before ſo many ſpectators; nor to be attended by ſuch valets."

Fitting her neck for the fatal ſtroke, and laying it on the block, the laſt words which ſhe uttered, were, "In thee O Lord! have I truſted; let me never be confounded. Into Thy hands, O God! I commit my ſpirit."

So

BOOK VI.

So ended, the laſt ſcenes of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; to whoſe ſufferings, there is nothing equal in the hiſtory of the human race. Nor was the manner, in which ſhe endured them, leſs remarkable, than the degree to which they were carried. Supported by the ſtrength of her own mind, and by the triumphs of religion over adverſity, ſhe continued, unſhaken; and ſeemed even inſenſible of her own heroiſm. Her ſoul long reſigned, in peace with itſelf, and elevated above reſentment, complacently left a cruel world; breathing forgiveneſs to her perſecutors, and prayers for the welfare of her native land.

The particulars, in the character of Queen Mary, have already appeared, in the courſe of this hiſtory; in which, it has been attempted to ſtate them, in an accurate and impartial light; whether agreeable to, or different from the accounts given by former hiſtorians. "She was of a proud mind (ſaid John Knox); a crafty wit; and indurate heart againſt the truth." This is in ſmall compaſs a great part of her deſcription. Her mind was ſingularly high and majeſtic: Her underſtanding very acute: Her judgment, in general, ſound: Her ſituation led her at times to diſguiſe: And her attachment

ment to the Roman Catholic faith, continued till her laſt breath. To this account, is to be added, that ſhe was, at the ſame time diſtinguiſhed for candour, moderation, gentleneſs, kindneſs and generoſity of heart. Queen Mary beſides, enjoyed the talent for perſwaſion, in ſuch a high degree, that the mention of it cannot be omitted: To uſe the words of Camden, ſhe poſſeſſed the "very marrow of eloquence *." BOOK VI

What

* That the reader may be gratified with other particulars, reſpecting this famous Perſonage, there is ſubjoined the following note, taken from what the contemporary, and chiefly the unfriendly writers, have ſaid of her.

Buchanan, who afterward, traduced her ſo much, addreſſed her once, as follows:

Nympha Caledoniæ,—
Quæ ſortem antevenis, meritis; virtutibus, annos;
Sexum, animis; morum nobilitate, genus!

That is, "Nymph of Caledonia! whoſe merits are above thy rank; Whoſe virtues are above thy years; Whoſe ſpirit, is above thy ſex; Whoſe noble manners, are above thy race."

Even Murray's Privy Council, met at Edinburgh, in the end of the year 1567, on purpoſe to accompliſh her deſtruction, make mention of, "Thoſe many good and excellent gifts and virtues, with which, God ſometimes endowed her." Goodall, ii. 63.

One Mr White an Agent of Queen Elizabeth's, who happened to have an opportunity of converſing with Queen Mary, while a priſoner in Tuthbury Caſtle, in the year 1568, ſeems to have been not a little impreſſed upon the occaſion. In a letter, addreſſed to Secretary Cecil, he communicates ſeveral curiou particulars, and ſpeaks of her courteſy and gentleneſs. Upon finding her, on account of the weather.

BOOK VI.

What is as ſtriking as the extent and variety of her accompliſhments, Her whole frame of mind,

confined all day to work with her needle, he ſaid, that upon that occaſion, ſhe entered with him "into a pretty diſputable compariſon, between Carving, Painting and Working with the needle, affirming Painting in her own opinion, for the moſt commendable quality." Afterward, he adds, "If I might give advice, there ſhould very few ſubjects in this land, have acceſs to, or conference with this Lady. For beſides, that ſhe is a goodly perſonage, (and yet in truth, not comparable to our ſovereign) ſhe has withal an alluring grace, a pretty *Scottiſh* ſpeech, and a ſearching wit, clouded with mildneſs. Fame might move ſome to relieve her; and glory joined to gain, might ſtir others to venture much for her ſake. Then joy, is a lively infective ſenſe; and carries many perſuaſions to the heart, which rules all the reſt. My own affection, by ſeeing the Queen's Majeſty. our ſovereign, is doubled; and thereby, I gueſs what *ſight* might work in others." Haynes 510, 511.

A writer who was under the very eye of Elizabeth, ſays of the Scottiſh Queen, that "beneficial nature, or rather Good God, had endowed her with a beautiful face, a well compoſed body, an excellent wit, a mild nature and good behaviour, which ſhe had artificially furthered by courtly education and affable behaviour; whereby at the firſt ſight, ſhe won unto her, the hearts of moſt people." Hollingſhed ii. 377.

Sir James Melvil, who blamed what ſeemed to him, to be an error and imprudence of conduct, in the public favour which ſhe ſhowed to Rizio, but which proceeded in no ſmall degree from neceſſity, entertained nevertheleſs, the greateſt perſonal eſteem and reſpect for her. We learn this, from various paſſages of his work. "She was of herſelf (ſays he) well inclined, and endowed with ſo many princely virtues, that I could not find in my heart to leave her.—I found her naturally more liberal than her revenues allowed.—After returning out of France to Scotland, ſhe behaved herſelf ſo princely, honourably and diſcreetly, that her reputation ſpread itſelf in all countries. She was determined, and of herſelf inclined, to continue ſo, unto the end of her life; deſiring

mind, appears to have been ſo cloſely linked, and equally blended together, that hardly, any of the parts of it, were overpowered, or even obſcured, by the reſt. Almoſt equally poized by nature, nothing probably, but the very ſingular ſituations, in which ſhe was placed, could have affected the uniformity of her conduct, or diſturbed the balance of her mind. BOOK VI.

Queen Mary, was every way, ill-fated. The country of Scotland, and the times, and

deſiring to entertain none in her company, but ſuch as were of the beſt converſation; abhorring all vice and vicious perſons. In this her reſolution, ſhe deſired me to aſſiſt her, by affording her my good counſel, what way was moſt effectual to ingratiate herſelf with her ſubjects; and in caſe ſhe (being yet young) might forget herſelf by any unſeemly geſture or miſbehaviour, that I would warn her thereof, by admoniſhing her to forbear and timeouſly to reform the ſame. Which commiſſion, I did at firſt, altogether refuſe to accept of; ſaying, That her virtuous actions, her natural judgment and the experience ſhe had learned in the Court of France, had inſtructed her ſo well, and qualified her ſo abundantly, to be an example to all her ſubjects and ſervants, that ſhe needed none to admoniſh her. But ſhe would not leave it ſo; but ſaid ſhe knew ſhe had committed diverſe errors, upon no ill meaning, only for want of the admonition of loving and concerned friends; becauſe that the greateſt part of courtiers, commonly flatter princes, to inſinuate for their favour; and will not tell them the truth, fearing thereby to diſoblige them.—She was of a quick ſpirit, curious to know and get intelligence of the ſtate of other Princes. She was ſomething ſad, when ſolitary; and was glad of the company of ſuch as had travelled to other kingdoms.—She was, of her own nature, more inclined to mercy than rigour; and was alſo, wiſe. Melvil's Memoirs, 85, 105, 106, 107, 125.

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Queen Elizabeth, were all againſt her. It was hardly poſſible, that a Princeſs who was beautiful, poliſhed, and high-minded, could proſper. The ſtate of ſociety in Scotland, in her age, was almoſt the reverſe of that, for which nature had formed her: The duplicity, violence, ferocity and fanaticiſm, which then ſo generally reigned, ſeem almoſt ſufficient to have driven a perfectly pure and right mind, from its courſe: Added to all this, the young Queen of Scots, had fatally been educated in the whole bigotry and ungenial tenets of the Roman Catholic faith: Was unfortunately, in that period of life, which has much to learn from experience: A ſtranger, in no ſlight degree, both to individuals and to the nation: Married to a man, whom, no woman of decorum, of ſenſe, or of ſpirit, could endure.

Her reſerve, on ſeveral occaſions, as to the charge of participating in the plot againſt her huſband, is a circumſtance, which may be here taken notice of. That point, ſeems rather to be avoided. She oftener accuſes her enemies of the crime, than ſpeaks of her own innocence. This was not the caſe, with regard to Babington's conſpiracy, and other matters, with which ſhe was afterward criminated: A conduct, probably to be attributed to her ſenſe of truth, and to the power which conſcience, had over her mind. The charitable will believe, that Queen Mary repented;

repented; and will aſcribe that peace of mind, which ſhe enjoyed during her after-life, and particularly at the time of her death, to thoſe hopes of forgiveneſs Above, which the penitent are authorized to entertain. BOOK VI.

Before leaving the hiſtory of this Princeſs, it is but juſt to obſerve, that fortune, as well as injuſtice and malice, was againſt her. However plots may have been ſucceſſively formed, and carried on to her prejudice, from firſt to laſt, the long train of her actual calamities, we may believe, was neither foreſeen, nor could be premeditated by her enemies. Even in the forgery of the writings aſcribed to her; a deed, aggravated by the numbers that probably were engaged in it, or were privy to it, there is a circumſtance, which in ſome degree, leſſens its baſeneſs.

The object there, was to prove Queen Mary's guilt, from her own hand-writing. At the ſame time, independent of that, there appears from the circumſtance of her marriage with Bothwell, to have been, in fact, a general perſuaſion, that ſhe was privy to the murder of her late huſband. From which, we ought, upon principles of fairneſs, to ſuppoſe, That not a few perhaps, who were conſcious of the forgery believed nevertheleſs in her guilt; and did not combine together, to do that, which has been by ſome, imputed to them, To cut off, by fabricated

BOOK VI. evidence, a perſon, whom they themſelves, believed to be innocent.

It may be farther obſerved, that the enemies of the Queen, could not have ſucceeded, in this charge, againſt her, in any other way, but by the forgery of writings. This was pointedly expreſſed by themſelves: They had, "no other means" they repeatedly ſaid, of vindicating their own conduct, and of proving guilt in their Queen, than by the letters which they produced. And in nothing, were they better founded. The marriage with Bothwell, however it might operate upon the minds of the public out of doors, was no evidence at all, in a Court of law. No Court of law that we know of, in any civilized country, could upon ſuch a ground, find Queen Mary guilty of the death of her huſband. It remained, either to deſiſt from all attempts againſt her, which they ſhould have done; or to fabricate evidence, the only thing which they could do. However criminal the latter conduct was, there is ſtill a diſtinction, we repeat, between thoſe who forge proof, or connive at forged proof, in order to condemn a perſon whom they think to be innocent; and thoſe who do ſo, to condemn a perſon whom they think to be guilty.

To the benefit of this diſtinction, however, there are certain of her enemies, who have no right to be entitled. Murray, and his

his immediate partiſans, knew not only how great their own ſhare was in the King's murder, but that the writings were forged. Queen Elizabeth, and ſome of her confidential Miniſters, it is probable, believed in Murray's guilt. BOOK VI.

In the cauſe between Queen Mary and her adverſaries, it has been aſſerted*, that either the one, or the other, of the two parties, muſt have been guilty, in an extreme and atrocious degree. But if the cauſe have not been juſtly ſtated, on either ſide, this amounts only to an aſſertion. Should the ideas advanced in this Hiſtory, be well founded, neither the facts alleged, on the one hand, nor on the other, can be admitted to the extent in which they have been held forth; and ſome of them, are altogether to be denied.

Men, too often, in forming their judgments, are either heated by party-ſpirit; or, not ſo much intereſted in the ſearch after truth, as to undertake laborious examinations into ſubjects of intricacy and of doubt. Boundleſs panegyric, or ſatire, hence occur ſo frequently in hiſtory. We are prone to admire, or to deteſt. Mankind have done this, in every age; But it is a very different matter, whether they have been right, in doing ſo. One thing, appears to be almoſt certain from experience, That in propor-

* Bayle.

BOOK VI.

tion as an exact reſearch has been made into the characters and conduct of men, both their merits and demerits, have for the moſt part, been leſſened: The one, have not been found to riſe ſo high, nor the other, to ſink ſo low, as had previouſly been conceived. However diverſe the ſcenes, the purſuits, and the perſonal qualities of men, there ſeems, for the greater part, to be an approximation, in point of intrinſic value, and of actual enjoyment, in all human things. There are ſtrong diſtinctions, There are real and great differences of excellency; but ſhould the whole ſtate of man, be embraced in the view; and a balance be held out over all the earth, to weigh the different conditions of the human race, their laws, manners, cuſtoms, pleaſures and pains, good and evil qualities, the ſcales, would leſs frequently, than is apt to be imagined, eſſentially vary their poize. This accords not, with the fond partialities of nations; and much leſs, with thoſe of factions and of individuals: But it gratifies charity and philoſophy; and magnifies the ways of Providence to man.

THE

THE HISTORY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BOOK VII.

Examination of the Letters and other Writings which were aſcribed to Queen Mary.

FROM ſeveral events related, in the courſe of the foregoing Books of this Hiſtory, there appeared the ſtrongeſt ground to conceive, that the writings imputed to the Queen of Scots, were not genuine. To have entered at large there, into all the evidence, of various kinds, for eſtabliſhing that as a fact, would have too much interrupted the hiſtorical detail; and hence it was thought better, BOOK VII.

BOOK VII.

better, in a ſeparate Book, to undertake, although in a ſhort compaſs, a particular and comprehenſive Examination of the ſubject. For this purpoſe, beſides ſtating a number of facts hitherto untouched in this Work, it will be neceſſary, at times, to repeat what has been already ſaid, upon ſome points; and to enlarge, upon others.

Before entering upon the ſubject, we may caſt an eye upon the general manners and practices of that age. Thoſe times, without derogating from them, in other reſpects, may be called, in a peculiar ſenſe, the times of plots and impoſitions. Provided, men could only make themſelves believe, that the ends in view, were juſtifiable, they were but little ſcrupulous, as to the means which were employed, for attaining them. Even violence and bloodſhed, were often, either winked at, or were ſanctified by ſucceſs: Artifice and guile, for the moſt part, led to credit and fame.

Forged writings, make a conſpicuous appearance; particularly, in the practices againſt Queen Mary. There were many perſons, it appears, in Scotland, who counterfeited her hand; and ſeveral letters were ſent, in her name, to England, and to other parts. Lethington in particular, is pointedly glanced at, both by the Queen and the Biſhop of Roſs, as having forged the letters

ters to Bothwell *; and he himſelf acknowledged, that he had often counterfeited her writing †.

At the time ſhe was ſeized by the confederate Lords, upon delivering herſelf up to them at Carberry-hill, a letter was forged, in her name to Bothwell; as has already been particularly ſtated in a former part of this Work. Buchanan forged a letter from the Earl of Lennox to Queen Mary; on which, and on many other accounts, that hiſtorian forfeits all title to credit, in what he has written concerning her ‡. Letters fabricated to prove the Queen of Scots, a party to the conſpiracy of Babington, were the fatal means which, at laſt, brought her to the block.

Theſe facts, come naturally to our recollection, previous to an inquiry into the writings alleged to have been addreſſed by Queen Mary to Bothwell: They prove, a diſpoſition, in the times, to forgery; and they ſupply inſtances of it, upon other occaſions, in the particular caſe of this Princeſs.

The writings conſiſt of Letters, Sonnets and Contracts. Two ſeparate ſubjects, come here under our conſideration: The *Hiſtory* of thoſe writings; and their *Contents*.

The

* Goodall, II. 342, 343; Anderſon, I. 20.

† Crawford, 100.

‡ Keith, 372; Anderſon, II. 3.

BOOK VII.

The Hiſtory of them, is firſt in order, to be traced; as there are certain particulars, very ſingular, queſtionable, and demonſtrative of forgery, with regard to the time of their appearance, their number, and other external circumſtances; which fall properly, to be diſcuſſed, before conſidering the matter which they contain.

Hiſtory of the Writings.

The article here, firſt to be conſidered, is the *tranſmiſſion* of theſe writings from the Queen to Bothwell. Several of the letters, particularly the firſt, and moſt important, from Glaſgow, are ſaid to have been carried by a Frenchman, named Paris. This perſon is repreſented, not only as the bearer of the letters, but as the confident of the Queen, and Bothwell: The letters were put open into his hands; and Bothwell was referred to him, for an explanation of many things contained in them. Of all perſons perhaps, he was hence the fitteſt to be employed by the enemies of the Queen, at the conferences at York and Weſtminſter. Yet no inquiry appears to have been made about him, till after theſe conferences: There is even no ſufficient evidence, that he was taken into cuſtody, till long after that period. All we know for certain is, that he was at laſt apprehended

prehended and impriſoned at St Andrew's; a place in which Murray perſonally reſided; and by conſequence, was at his devotion. In Auguſt the following year*, he was there executed, as an acceſſary to the murder of Darnly.

It was alleged by Murray, that Paris at his death, affirmed Bothwell to be guilty of the murder: Alſo, that the Queen was participant in it; and that ſhe wrote the letters, in queſtion, to Bothwell. Two confeſſions, the one dated on the ninth, the other, on the tenth of Auguſt, were aſcribed to him †. In the former, he ſpeaks of his own guilt and of Bothwell's; in the latter, of the Queen's. Theſe confeſſions were ſent, but privately, to Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters, in the October following; after the conferences and trial had been long over in England; and never were ſeen, either by Queen Mary, or by her Miniſters. At the ſame time, no evidence whatever was produced along with them, or at any after time, that they were taken judicially: No mention of any perſon whatever, before whom they were taken: No legal atteſtation, is affixed to them. All mark of authenticity of this kind, is the ſolitary atteſtation of one Hay, a notary, without witneſſes; and a dependant upon Murray. Immediately upon confeſſing, the man was hanged.

It

* 1569. † Goodall, I. 137. II. 76.

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It is exceedingly probable, that this perſon could have been found, in time enough, and been produced at York and Weſtminſter, if it had been certain, that he would have given the evidence wiſhed for. And on the ſuppoſition, that he could not have been found, it is unaccountable, after he was got, why he was not judicially examined; and ſent to England before his execution, to be re-examined by the Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth. On the other hand, it is declared by authors in that age, and living at the time, that Paris made no ſuch confeſſions; and indeed, no confeſſions at all. It is averred, that Paris at his death, denied that he himſelf had any ſhare in the King's murder *; from which it follows that his firſt confeſſion muſt have been forged. And with regard to the Queen, the Biſhop of Roſs, relates, that Paris, "at the time of his execution, took it upon his death, as he ſhould anſwer before God, that he never carried any ſuch letters; nor that the Queen was participant, or of council in the cauſe †."

It is farther remarkable, that although the Biſhop's book, in which he made the above declaration, was publiſhed ſoon after the death of Paris, and in the end of the ſame year; and that the confeſſions were, at

* Crawford. 127.

† And. I. part II. 19.

at that period in exiſtence; no diſcloſure of them was then made, in contradiction to what he had written; and which we may ſuppoſe, was at that time, commonly known and believed. The book itſelf, by Queen Elizabeth's order, was immediately ſuppreſſed, upon the pretence of its containing things dangerous to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Buchanan, who wrote near two years afterward *, his Detection of Queen Mary's doings, a work, intended to defame her by all manner of means, avoids making any mention of Paris's confeſſions. Hay the notary himſelf, in a letter to Knox ſtill later †, in which he ſeems to have intended to enumerate the whole charges that had been made, or could be made againſt Queen Mary, totally omits the ſtrongeſt of all, The confeſſions of Paris, which he himſelf had atteſted: Proofs it ſhould ſeem, that ſo many perſons then alive, and who knew what Paris had really ſaid at his death, rendered it impracticable to produce theſe forged confeſſions.

That theſe confeſſions of Paris, contain ſome things that are true, as has been pleaded by the enemies of the Queen, is very likely. It appears that the poor man had been dealt with; and that even torture had been applied, to make him ſay as much as poſſible. To ward off, or to mitigate his fate,

* December 14. 1571; Goodall II. 371.

† 1571.

BOOK VII. fate, he told ſome little ſtories, and in a ſimple and natural manner. Theſe were retained, to make a part in the fabricated confeſſions, for the ſake of giving an air of probability; but at the ſame time, it is acknowledged, that even in theſe, he related many things, which are improbable and abſurd. Suppoſing, that Paris actually carried love-letters from the Queen to Bothwell, we have next to trace their hiſtory, after they were delivered. It is natural to think, that it was Bothwell's intereſt to preſerve them: For ſuch letters, would give him the command of the Queen. It ſeems alſo to have been prudent in him, to lodge them, as is alleged, in Edinburgh caſtle, a place of the greateſt ſecurity; and to commit them to the cuſtody of Balfour, the governor at that time, one of his friends *. That he might delay to ſend for them from thence, after he was driven from Holyrood-houſe, and even after he was ſeparated from the Queen at Carberry-hill, is nowiſe unreaſonable to conceive; conſidering the confuſion of his affairs at that period. But that Balfour, who, before that period, from the creature, had become the enemy of Bothwell, ſhould deliver up the letters to a meſſenger ſent by him, as was affirmed by the confederates, is highly incredible. His buſineſs

* Keith, 384.

ſineſs ſurely was, to ſend them directly to the confederates themſelves; and in ſuch a manner, that they could not be in any hazard, in the tranſmiſſion*.

Suppoſing next, that Balfour, notwithſtanding of this, actually delivered the letters to Bothwell's meſſenger, and that this meſſenger was actually ſeized on the way, as is affirmed by the confederates, on the twentieth of June that ſame year, and the letters taken from him; many circumſtances in the conduct of the confederates, both before and after ſuch an event, are fully as unaccountable. The confederates were in arms againſt the Queen in the month of May preceding; and had impriſoned her on June ſixteenth; while at the ſame time, they repeatedly and ſolemnly aſſerted afterward, that every thing they had done againſt her, was in conſequence of her letters to Bothwell; but the diſcovery of which, they carry no farther back than the twentieth: A date, poſterior to the violent and deciſive ſteps, which they had before that time, taken againſt her.

But before proceeding farther, to conſider their conduct *after* the ſeizure of the

† The ſtory told by the Queen's enemies, (Spotſwood, 208. Knox, 410.) of Balfour giving the letters to Dalglieſh the meſſenger, and underhand acquainting the Lords of this, that he might be intercepted, is too wild to meet with any credit.

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letters, What were the meaſures they took, immediately at the ſeizure itſelf? The meſſenger, a few days after he was ſeized, was judicially examined before Morton and other Lords of the confederacy; and what paſſed, they have left upon record. But in his examination, not a word is recorded about the letters which he is ſaid to have carried: A matter certainly very ſtrange, if he carried any writings at all. The natural queſtions were, Did he acknowledge, that he had ſuch writings in his cuſtody, when he was ſeized? From whom got he them? To whom was he carrying them? No ſuch queſtions, are ſaid to have been aſked. Balfour was not ſummoned to attend, and ſay, whether he had delivered ſuch writings to the meſſenger. No liſt of the writings was taken: No mention made of the receptacle in which they were carried: The very name of the meſſenger was not recorded *.

Above ſix months after this examination †, one, named George Dalglieſh, was executed as acceſſary to the murder of the late King. Above eight months after that execution ‡, it was for the firſt time, publiſhed

* From the reſearches of Mr Whitaker, a writer ſingularly induſtrious, animated and acute, to whoſe labours, I have often on this ſubject, been very much indebted, it ſeems exceedingly probable, that in place of the twentieth of June, Dalglieſh was not ſeized, till the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of July. See Mr Whitaker's Work, I. 258.

† Jan. 3. 1568. ‡ Sept. 16.

liſhed in a receipt given by Murray to Morton for the writings, that this George Dalglieſh, a ſervant of Bothwell's, was the meſſenger: A liſt of the writings he carried, was then given; and mention made of a caſket, the receptacle in which he carried them. But Dalglieſh, after having been for above ſix months in priſon before his execution, without any confeſſion having been attempted to be drawn from him, had been now long in his grave; and it was ſafe, to ſay any thing concerning him, that was thought fit.

We proceed then, to the conduct of the confederates, after the alleged ſeizure of the writings. It was not till above five months afterward*, that they mentioned a word in public, concerning this event; which was ſo important in itſelf, and ſo favourable to the part which they had acted. It is true, that in this interval, they privately hinted at it. From letters of Throkmorton to Queen Elizabeth, in the end of July† that year, it appears that the confederates had informed him, that, if their Queen ſhould refuſe to reſign the crown to her ſon, and that a council ſhould govern in his name, they were to accuſe her "of incontinency with Bothwell and others; alſo, of the murder of her huſband; and by as apparent proof as may be, as well by the teſtimony of her hand-wri-

* Dec. 4. 1567. † July 24. 1567.

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ting which they had recovered, as by ſufficient witneſſes *."

Upon this, it is to be remarked, that they did not adhere to theſe reſolutions. They accuſed the Queen indeed of adultery with Bothwell; but not, with any other perſons. The evidences they produced, to ſupport their whole charge of adultery and murder, were ſolely the letters; without any witneſſes whatever; and in place of explicit and apparent proof of the murder, their letters only hinted at it. This wavering conduct, when taken in conjunction with ſo many other facts, tending to create a belief that the writings were forged, indicates an intention in the enemies of the Queen, to have accuſed her, before they knew, how they could do it.

The confederates farther, made declarations at this time, diametrically oppoſite to what has been juſt mentioned In a public proclamation †, they charged Bothwell with having raviſhed the Queen; and having forced her to marry him. Soon after, in a manifeſto of the Lords of Scotland ‡, Bothwell was again charged with forcing the marriage; leading the Queen captive; forming ſchemes againſt her life and that of her ſon; and theſe were the reaſons which they aſſigned for having taken arms. After having, as has been formerly related, remained

* Keith, 424.—427. † June 26. 1567. ‡ July 11.

ed ſilent for more than five months, with reſpect to their diſcovery of the letters; at laſt *, the Regent Murray produced them, before a meeting of his Privy Council. It becomes neceſſary, on account of the ſucceſſive and material alterations which appear afterward to have been made upon them, to mark the ſtate and circumſtances of their production at that, and every ſubſequent period, till they were finally withdrawn from all judicial review. BOOK VII.

The laſt ſtate in which the writings appeared, is therefore to be mentioned firſt; in order that the previous forms in which they were preſented, may be afterward compared with it. And if we confine our conſideration to diſplays of artifice and ingenuity, that ſtate will be found nowiſe to the diſcredit of the confederates.

The writings they produced, were chiefly in the French language; all of them, open papers; without ſeal, ſubſcription, addreſs, or date. By this, they made the Queen act naturally and wiſely; apprehend a diſcovery; and be prepared againſt it. But while moſt of theſe precautions put it in her power, to deny that ſuch papers were written by her; as they did not carry her name and other external evidence along with them, they led at the very ſame time, to ſuſpect that ſhe actually did write them;

* December 4. 1567.

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from the fore-bodings of a detection, which theſe precautions betrayed. Nothing was eaſier for the confederates, than to have ſupplied ſubſcription, date and other circumſtances, if they had not had ſome purpoſe to ſerve, by the want of them. Their abilities for this buſineſs, farther appear in producing writings of every imaginable ſort, Letters, Sonnets, and Contracts. But their chief ſkill evidenced itſelf in the contents of theſe writings: They ſpoke plain indeed as to adultery; but they only hinted at murder. There was a nicety and a depth in the ſcheme here, which none but able heads, could have been capable of.

Yet in this, as has been juſt mentioned, we refer to the ſcheme, in its final and perfect ſhape. As is natural to ſuppoſe, it was completed only by degrees; and amended much in the courſe of time, by reflection and by occurrences. Hence the firſt ſtages, ſo different from the laſt: The parts brought forward ſucceſſively: And the chief parts, almoſt totally altered, as to their very ſubſtance. The hiſtory of this mutable ſtate of the writings, both in form, ſubſtance, and numbers, is what we are now to trace; as it ſupplies one of the great proofs of fabrication.

At the meeting, in Edinburgh, of Murray's Privy Council on the fourth of December,

ber *, and that of the Parliament of Scotland on the fifteenth, it appears, that diverſe privy letters of the Queen to Bothwell, were laid before them, and read. No other writings, but *Letters* were produced; and it ſeems probable, from a circumſtance afterward to be mentioned, that theſe were only *five* in number, out of the famous *eight*. There can be no doubt, that theſe, were then in the Scottiſh language; not only becauſe the ſame letters were produced afterward before the Commiſſioners at York †, and ſtill in that tongue; but becauſe, had they been in French that circumſtance would have been mentioned; and on account of the difficulty of underſtanding them, eſpecially at a meeting of Parliament unuſually throng, tranſlations would have been needed, for a very conſiderable number perhaps of the members. When a part of the Writings, at laſt appeared in French, at Weſtminſter ‡, that circumſtance, was expreſsly taken notice of.

It ſhould ſeem alſo, that they had as yet, dates of place and time: The Commiſſioners at York, ſpeak at leaſt of *Glaſgow*, as the place from which the firſt and moſt important of all the letters, was written; but which does not now remain on the face of that letter.

* 1567. † October 1568. ‡ December 8.

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In the next place, the letters when before the Privy Council, of the fourth of December, were ſubſcribed by the Queen; but on the fifteenth, when before the Parliament, they were without her ſubſcription; from which it appears, that it was only in the interval, between the fourth and fifteenth, that it occurred to the confederates, to be better to omit the ſubſcription. For it might have been thought, an incredible thing, for the Queen to have put her name to writings ſo dangerous to herſelf, if ever diſcovered.

What is farther remarkable, the ſubſtance of the letters, was at this time and ever afterward, materially different from what we were led to expect, from the firſt intimations about them. Throkmorton, as has been already mentioned, ſaid, he had it from the confederates themſelves, that by the handwriting of the Queen, and alſo by ſufficient witneſſes, they had as manifeſt proof as could be, againſt her, of the murder of her huſband. But as it would have been incredible, that any perſons ſhould have furniſhed ſuch a proof againſt themſelves with their own hands, the confederates had the ſkill ſoon to make an alteration, and the moſt material of all, by ſubſtituting hints and dark expreſſions only, in place of this explicit and ample proof. That they did not produce witneſſes, againſt which kind of proof, no ſuch ſuſpicion could lie, ſeems plainly to have

have been owing, to their having found no witneſſes to bring forward.

There was no mention made on December fourth, and fifteenth, of the manner of the diſcovery of theſe letters, of when, and where, and in whoſe hands, they were found: Circumſtances very proper to have been related, but which were not made known by the confederates, till near a twelvemonth afterward; as has been already mentioned.

Being tied down to the letters, not only as he had reſted ſolely upon them, before his Privy Council, and the Parliament of Scotland, but as he had no witneſſes and no other papers then to produce, Murray found himſelf obliged, to adhere to a charge upon the foundation of writings. What however, was ſtill free to him, and in no ſmall degree, in his power, was to tamper with the writings which he had already produced; to alter them, or to add to them.

A point even previous to this, and exceedingly material, was to be ſettled, Whether the letters he had already produced in Scotland, would be held as ſufficient evidence in England? In England, they would probably be examined, either by Courts of law, or by Commiſſioners who might go upon ſtrict legal principles. He had learned, as he ſaid himſelf to Middlemore, the Engliſh Agent at Edinburgh, that the trial which Queen Elizabeth had reſolved upon,

was

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was to be carried on with great ceremony and ſolemnities *. His letters, in place of containing direct and clear proofs of murder, hardly ſupplied evidence of any kind; and referred chiefly, to adultery. They were however, ingeniouſly contrived to impreſs people without doors, by means of natural circumſtances, chance-incidents, and even expreſſions of horror at the projected deed, interſperſed in them. Beſides this, the letters were without ſubſcription and other uſual circumſtances; which amounted to a kind of tacit confeſſion. All led to conceive them genuine. They acknowleged adultery; and if there were adultery, there might be murder. This inference was ſtrengthened by hints and dark expreſſions; and ſeemed to be clearly confirmed afterward, by the two facts of Darnly's murder, and the Queen's marriage with Bothwell. All this, independent of diſcuſſions at law, was calculated to beget a belief in the authenticity of the letters; and excited the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion, that the Queen was acceſſary to the murder. And ſuſpicions, it is to be obſerved, often bias mankind at large, more than evidences, ſuch as ſatisfy a Court of law.

Now, it was the ſucceſs of *this kind* of proof, deep and refined, which was contained in the letters, that Murray in the firſt inſtance,

* June 22. 1568. Goodall, II. 75, 76.

ſtance, was anxious about; and to be ſatisfied with reſpect to it, he immediately, early in June, made the letters to be ſhown privately to Queen Elizabeth previous to their examination by the Judges. His object was, to find out, if ſuch proof were ſatisfactory to her; and farther, if ſhe would aſſure him, that her Judges, would hold it to be ſatisfactory to them. He deſired, that they would previous to a public examination, conſider the letters, and tell whether they would admit the kind of proof, which they contained. To be good and concluſive. "It may be (ſays he afterward) that ſuch letters, which ſufficiently in *our opinion* prove her (the Queen) conſenting to the murder of the King, ſhall be called in doubt by the Judges, whether they may ſtand or fall, proof or not: Therefore, as our ſervant Mr John Wood, has the copies of the ſame letters tranſlated into our language, we would earneſtly deſire, that the ſaid copies, may be conſidered by the Judges, that they may reſolve us this far, in caſe the principal agree with the copy, that then we prove the cauſe indeed; for when we have manifeſted and ſhown all, and yet ſhall have no aſſurance, that what we ſend, ſhall ſatisfy for proof, For what purpoſe ſhall we either accuſe, or take care how to prove, when we are not

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not aſſured what to prove; or when we have proved, what, ſhall ſucceed*?"

All this baſe communication, between Murray and Queen Elizabeth, ſhows not only his anxiety about the kind of evidence he had ſubmitted; but indicates, that if it were not found to be ſufficient, he would produce ſomething, upon a different principle. And this indeed, he himſelf expreſsly ſays in the beginning of the ſame letter†: "We have already ſent *that* (the letters) which we truſt, ſhall ſufficiently reſolve her Majeſty; and yet if her Highneſs will that we ſend *other*, for more *ſpecial* information of the caſe, we ſhall gladly follow her pleaſure, with as great haſte, as poſſibly we can."

The ſenſe of the whole ſeems to be, that if Queen Elizabeth and her Commiſſioners, ſhould not be ſatisfied with the *kind* of evidence, which he then privately laid before them, he would ſend evidence of a different kind, particular and direct, as to the murder; "as apparent proof as may be," to uſe the words he employed at firſt to Throkmorton; but which was not at that time ready, or in exiſtence; and therefore, with as great haſte as poſſible, would be fabricated and tranſmitted.

What Queen Elizabeth's anſwer was, is not known; unleſs it be for the circumſtance,

* June 22. 1568. Goodall, II. 75, 76. † Ibid.

ſtance, that Murray was not diſcouraged from producing his letters; From which it ſhould ſeem, ſhe was ſatisfied with the kind of proof, which they contained. There is indeed, another circumſtance, which leads us to conceive, ſhe was not ſatisfied with the quantity of it: This was the after-production, of additional evidence upon the ſame principle; but ſpeaking ſtill more fervently than the letters had done, or than letters could well do. This ſeems to have been the reaſon, for calling in the aid of Poetry; eſpecially as the Queen of Scots, was known to write verſes. She could not be made to write more paſſionately in proſe on the ſubject of love, than had been already done for her. A warmer ſtyle, would have increaſed that ſuſpicion, which even the letters tended ſtrongly to beget. But the Muſes know leſs control; and have the privilege to ſtrike a higher ſtrain. Theſe ideas, poſſibly ſuggeſted the *Sonnets*; in which, Queen Mary is made to breathe a frantic paſſion for Bothwell.

The fact at leaſt is, that in leſs than three months afterward, Murray for the firſt time, made it known, that he had ſonnets; and likewiſe, ſome other additional writings in proſe, of Queen Mary's, in his poſſeſſion. In an act of Privy Council at Edinburgh, of the ſixteenth of September*, there is recorded,

* 1568.

BOOK VII. ed, a receipt, which he gave to Morton for "a box with all miſſive-letters, contracts or obligations for marriage, ſonnets and other letters contained in it, ſent and paſt between the Queen and Bothwell."

For the firſt time further, it was declared, and in this ſame receipt, that a box with theſe contents was taken by domeſtics of Morton from the hands of one George Dalglieſh, a ſervant of Bothwell's, on the twentieth of June *. All that had been previouſly declared and exhibited, was only, that Murray had *Letters;* but when they were ſeized, by whom, from whom, in what receptacle they were contained, and what other articles the box was furniſhed with, was totally unmentioned, in public; and for what we know, in private. As has been already related, George Dalglieſh, by this time, had been many months, in his grave.

But before leaving Murray's paper to Middlemore, quoted above, we muſt take notice of a remarkable fact, which it aſſerted, That the copies of the letters, which he a little before that date, had ſent to Queen Elizabeth, were "tranſlated into the Scottiſh language;" that is, the originals in his hands, were in the French. He had begun, by this time, to ſee the abſurdity of making the Queen write open letters to Bothwell, in the vulgar tongue of the country.

* 1567.

try. Yet hitherto, there had been no great attention needed, upon that point. The prejudice in Scotland againſt Queen Mary and Popery, was ſo great, that almoſt any thing, could paſs againſt her unchallenged: The power of the Regent was ſo confirmed, and the conſpiracy to take away the Queen's life, ſo alarming, that her friends durſt not ſtart any difficulties, nor crave any particular examination. But now that the letters, were to be ſubmitted to Commiſſioners in England, Murray diſcerned the neceſſity of putting them into French; and he announced this to Queen Elizabeth, in the paper above mentioned. BOOK VII.

At laſt, in the beginning of October *, the Engliſh and Scotch Coſſimiſſioners met at York. Murray at this meeting, having been diſſuaded from publicly accuſing his Sovereign, for the reaſons mentioned in a foregoing Book, yet with the ſame views, from which he privately communicated the letters to Queen Elizabeth, he now privately communicated them to the Engliſh Commiſſioners. He had requeſted indeed of Queen Elizabeth, to lay them before theſe Judges herſelf; but this, ſhe had not found proper to do. She appears carefully to have concealed, her having known, any thing at all, of the contents of the letters; as we can infer, from the Commiſſioners privately having

* October 4. 1568.

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ving ſent her, large extracts of them, from York. To have told them, that ſhe had ſeen them already, would not only have been indecent, but might have betrayed a colluſion with Murray.

Although there was no public examination of the writings, we have a very particular and diſtinct account of what paſſed at the private one, in a letter written by the Engliſh Commiſſioners to Queen Elizabeth, from York*. Of Queen Mary's letters, notwithſtanding the great number that were afterward produced, none appear to have been exhibited, at this time, but five; and which were the three firſt, from Glaſgow; and the two firſt, from Stirling. From this circumſtance, moſt probably, theſe were all that had been laid before Murray's Privy Council and the Parliament of Scotland, in the end of the preceding year. Another letter, was indeed produced at York, and it ſhould ſeem probable alſo, afterwards at Weſtminſter; but it ſeems to have been finally withdrawn; either, as reckoned perhaps to be of little moment, or, not fit to continue longer in the light. Theſe letters alſo, notwithſtanding Murray's intimation to Queen Elizabeth, with reſpect to French originals, were at York, ſtill in the Scottiſh language; and the hand-writing, was not only affirmed to

* October 11. 1568. Anderſon iv. 58. 71, &c. Goodall ii. 139. 148, &c.

to be the Queen's, but oaths were offered, to prove this. We have here, both Scotch and French originals of the ſame letters; and nothing can be more incredible. Probably, Murray's French originals were not yet ready; the intimation he made to Queen Elizabeth was of a private nature; and upon which, he counted, that ſhe would keep ſilence. We ſhall ſoon ſee, how Murray extricated himſelf from this difficulty, at Weſtminſter.

Along with theſe letters, love-ſonnets and two contracts of marriage, were alſo privately ſhown to the Commiſſioners; being their appearance for the firſt time; but they made no extracts from them, nor took any particular notice of them. One of the contracts, they ſaid, was ſigned with the Queen's and Bothwell's hands; and dated on the fifth of April *: That is, before Bothwell's acquittal of the murder; and before the proceſs of divorce, from his wife. It was alſo written, as they were told, by Huntly's own hand; and who was beſides witneſs to the ſigning of it, by the Queen and Bothwell. That Huntly did not contradict this, was probably owing to his having never ſeen nor heard of this contract. And indeed it does not appear, that either the Queen or any of her friends, ever heard of any other writings than *Letters* having been aſcribed to her.

* 1567.

BOOK VII. The other contract, ſaid the Commiſſioners, "was of the Queen's own hand," and without date; but was afterward, and probably at that time, inſinuated to have been written by her, before the death of her huſband *. It was implied in the report of the Commiſſioners, that this contract, was both written and ſubſcribed by the Queen; and this afterward, was more ſpecially affirmed by Murray. But it is affirmed, on the contrary, that neither the ſubſcription nor the contract, are in Queen Mary's hand; and that the ſubſcription, is not even in the ſame hand with the contract †. From which, it ſhould ſeem, the Commiſſioners had paid little attention to the hand-writing, at their private meeting; nor did they take notice in their report, that the undated contract and the ſonnets, were in the French language.

At this private conference, the Engliſh Commiſſioners relate ‡, that Lethington, Buchanan and others aſſiſted, on the part of Murray, for their "better inſtruction, and to point out the circumſtances that led to vehement preſumptions of the Queen's being guilty of the murder." That is, to explain and illuſtrate the letters; ſhow how much could be inferred from them; and deſcant

* Buchanan's Detection, Anderſon ii. 92. Buchan. Hiſt. xix. 462.

† Goodall i. 126. ‡ Goodall ii. 140.

ſcant upon that kind of evidence, which they contained.

Previous to the conference at Weſtminſter, and even during that at York, it may be here obſerved, that copies of the writings aſcribed to Queen Mary, are thought from a paſſage of Brown's trial of Norfolk, to have been privately communicated to her by ſome friends; and an inference drawn from this, that although ſhe ſoon after, in vain demanded the originals and even copies from Queen Elizabeth, yet that it was not in her power to detect them of forgery; otherwiſe ſhe would have done it, as ſhe actually had copies in her poſſeſſion. On this ſuppoſition, however, we can ſee reaſons for her concealing that ſhe had copies of her own; at leaſt, ſo long as her enemies refuſed to ſhow her *their* copies, or originals. Had they ſhown theſe to her, ſhe might then have detected them; but till ſhe got them from their own hands, ſhe could not venture to do this; becauſe they might have reviſed them, altered them, and denied, that the copies ſhe had, were true ones. Here was a difficulty that lay in the way, ſo long as the writings were neither ſhown to her by her enemies, nor publiſhed to the world.

But it ſeems altogether improbable, that Queen Mary ever had, at any time whatever, copies of thoſe writings or any particular accounts of them, tranſmitted to her by her

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friends. Copies of them were indeed, two or three years afterward, publiſhed by her enemies *; but it does not appear that ſhe had any acceſs to ſee them then, or ever after; as all communications to and from her, were intercepted and examined. So early as the beginning of January †, we find a reſolution mentioned, that no perſon ſhould come or ſend to her, but by Queen Elizabeth's knowledge ‡. Her not having ſeen copies, is to be inferred from the ignorance of the Biſhop of Roſs her zealous friend, and the very perſon who is ſaid to have conveyed the copies to her; for ſo late as about two years after the trial §, when he publiſhed his Defence of Queen Mary, he ſays, that the letters, (which is the only portion of the writings he appears to have heard of), had no date of year, month or day; and that no bearer was mentioned, who carried them. Whereas one of the letters, is expreſsly dated *Saturday*; and two bearers, *Paris* and *Beatoun*, are expreſsly taken notice of in them; which proves that he had not ſeen the letters. And as the Queen herſelf had read the Biſhop's defence, without taking notice of theſe miſtakes, it is a proof, ſhe neither had the letters tranſmitted to her by the Biſhop, nor by any other perſon.

The

* Goodall II. 298. † 1571. ‡ January 7. 1569.
§ End of 1570.

The ſecond conference having been opened at Weſtminſter, in the end of November that ſame year, at the meeting of the Commiſſioners on the night of the ſeventh of December *, Murray produced and ſhowed to them, ſundry writings, tending to prove the hatred which the Queen of Scots bore to her huſband, to the time of his murder; and alſo her inordinate love to Bothwell †. It does not appear, that theſe writings, then underwent any examination. The hour was late; and they were perhaps even hardly handed about, to be glanced at, for a reaſon immediately to be mentioned. It ſhould ſeem, that they were the ſix Scotch letters, which he had ſhown already to the Commiſſioners at York; along with three additional ones, ſtill extant, namely, the fourth letter from Glaſgow, the third and fourth from Stirling (which probably were compoſed poſterior to the meeting at York); and alſo four other letters, of which we have no account; making thirteen in number. That they were thirteen, (whatever they were, whether the particular thirteen, juſt mentioned, or not), I conclude from Morton's receipt for the caſket and its contents, when delivered back to him, about two years afterward ‡; in which, it is ſaid, the writings

* December 7. 1586.
† Anderſon, IV. 150, &c.; Goodall, II. 235.
‡ January 22. 1571.

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were twenty-one in all; for this number is made up, when there are added to the thirteen, the other eight writings, all of them alleged to be different; which were produced, ſeven of them, on the next day, the eighth; and another on the fifteenth of the ſame month *. Theſe thirteen, appear to have been all in the Scotch language; as they were diſtinguiſhed from the ſeven additional writings produced next day; which were expreſsly mentioned, as being in French. But neither theſe Scotch originals, nor copies of them, are ſaid to have been delivered. The cauſe of this ſeems to be, that part of them were to be afterward re-produced as originals in French; and this was actually done with two of them, the very next day. Three more of them were publiſhed in the ſame way above two years afterward †; as will be mentioned in its place: The remainder, ſeem to have been finally withdrawn; either becauſe, perhaps, they were of little importance; or they claſhed with ſome of the reſt, in point of chronology, or other circumſtances.

On the day following ‡, Murray for the firſt time, produced writings in French; and as originals §. Theſe he ſaid, "were for the further

* December 1568.

† December 1571. ‡ December 8. 1568.

§ It is admitted, that the eight French letters were tranſlated from the Latin of Buchanan; into which language, they

further ſatisfaction of Queen Elizabeth and the Commiſſioners, and in which, would appear very evidently, Queen Mary's inordinate love to Bothwell; with ſundry other arguments of her guiltineſs of the murder of her huſband. Thereupon he produced ſeven ſeveral writings in French, in the like Roman hand as her other letters, which were ſhowed yeſternight, and avowed by him, to be written by the Queen." Theſe writings copied into French, were read; a due collation of the originals and copies as near as could be by reading and inſpection was made; and they were found to accord. Upon which, the originals were re-delivered to Murray; and the copies left with the Court *.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that this buſineſs, ſeems too much for one day. The Commiſſioners, we are to believe compared the hand-writing of the many papers produced this day, with that of the many produced on the night before; for they mention

they appear to have been rendered by himſelf, from the Scotch, previous to the Conferences at Weſtminſter. Camuz the Frenchman who tranſlated them from the Latin into the French, gave as his reaſon for doing ſo, that he was unſkilled in the Scotch, and therefore tranſlated from the Latin. This ſhews there were no French originals: Otherwiſe, there was no occaſion to employ Camuz to tranſlate Buchanan's Latin into French.

* Goodal, II. 235.

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their being in the like Roman hand. They likewiſe had the whole ſeven French writings, and ſome of which, were long, read to them, originals and copies; to find, if they agreed. When ſo much was undertaken, and ſo great conſequences depended upon this day's work, we cannot conceive, that it was executed with the time and care which were due.

Next day*, the Commiſſioners proceeded until dinner time, in the reading and peruſing of theſe French copies, now tranſlated into Engliſh; and alſo, of other writings, which were exhibited the day before†. Theſe laſt writings, were the examinations of Hay, Pourie, Dalgleiſh and others, amounting to ſix or ſeven in number‡. It ſtrikes us here alſo, that the time was ſhort; as dinner in thoſe days was at an early hour. We know for certain that the Commiſſioners met again after dinner, at one o'clock, upon other buſineſs.

At this peruſal, the three York Commiſſioners aſſiſted; and muſt have obſerved, it ſhould ſeem, that theſe tranſlated copies from the alleged original French, were the very ſame, with part of thoſe letters, which they examined at York; and which were there alſo, produced, as originals in Scotch. They had thus at once, French and Scotch originals

* December 9.

† Ibid. 236. ‡ Goodall, II. 240.

originals of the ſame letters, and we cannot conceive it poſſible, that they could have been ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honeſty, as to have concealed what they obſerved.

Yet I ſee only one way, in which their credit can be ſaved. And that is, that the letters which took up the moſt of their attention at York, were not produced afterward; unleſs on the night of the ſeventh of December, when it does not appear that they were examined. Theſe letters, were the three firſt from Glaſgow: Theſe, they had not only very completely read and ſtudied, but had made an abſtract of them, and likewiſe large extracts from each of them, in two ſeparate papers; as they ſaid, that theſe letters, contained the chief and principal points, of the charge. It would have been impracticable for Murray to produce theſe, a ſecond time, as originals in French; and, as additional letters. But with reſpect to the other two letters from Stirling, which were alſo before the Commiſſioners at York, they ſeem to have paid much leſs attention to them: They made no abſtract, nor extracts; they only mentioned them in a ſingle ſentence, "as being two letters ſhowed to them of her own hand; in which it appeared, that it was by her own practice and conſent, that Bothwell ſhould take her, and carry her to Dunbar." The York Commiſſioners, might therefore have been impoſed upon by Murray,

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ray, with reſpect to theſe two; as they had only curſorily ſeen them at York; and were now in a French dreſs. This deep and ſilent knave, ſtanding in the back-ground, had watched all that paſſed; and by a trick of juggling, made the York Commiſſioners imagine, that what they were ſeeing, at Weſtminſter, was different from what they had ſeen, at York. To theſe two letters, when he added the other two from Stirling, and the fourth letter from Glaſgow, (none of which three, it appears were ſhown at York) they amounted to five letters; to which the Sonnet and ſhort Contract in French being added, the number, was ſeven writings in French, as mentioned at Weſtminſter on the eighth, and as ſpecified at Hampton Court, into Letters a Sonnet and Contract, on the fourteenth of December.

Whether this may have been the way, in which Murray conducted the buſineſs, cannot be certainly affirmed; but I gladly ſuppoſe that it was; as it is painful to think, that the York Commiſſioners, could have acted a part ſo baſe, as their conduct muſt otherwiſe have been. The fact is, that three of the eight letters were not preſented in French, on the eight of December; nor at any after meeting at Weſtminſter or Hampton Court; and it ſeems highly probable, the three firſt letters from Glaſgow, were theſe three. Theſe three however, were of the

the greateſt importance in Murray's charges; as they contained, almoſt the whole of the criminal matter. He got them therefore tranſlated into French, and paſſed them for originals; as nobody could well believe, (he foreſaw) that the Queen would write ſuch letters as theſe, in the vulgar tongue of the country. They were joined to the other five; and the whole eight in French, were publiſhed to the world above two years afterward *; furniſhed we may believe to the printer, by Cecil, into whoſe hands they had been delivered. Murray in a Paper ſent to his ambaſſador in England, expreſsly mentions his having produced to the Queen of England's Commiſſioners, eight letters in French written by Queen Mary's own hand, and ſent to Bothwell †. This was not true; but from this, it ſhould ſeem, that after publicly producing the five to the Commiſſioners, he privately afterward delivered the other three to Cecil; whoſe zeal to ſerve the views of Queen Elizabeth in this cauſe, was ſo great, that we can believe he did not challenge ſuch an impoſition, and ſuch a mode of delivery. Nor was there almoſt any danger, that this impoſition in paſſing theſe three French letters for originals, would be challenged by any body. The York Commiſſioners only, had ſeen and examined them, as originals, in Scotch. Of theſe,

* 1571. † October 15. 1569. Goodall, II. 87, 88.

BOOK VII. theſe, the Duke of Norfolk, was by this time, in priſon: Sir Ralph Sadler, was a creature of the Engliſh Queen's: The Earl of Suſſex, if diſpoſed to ſpeak out, might be told, that the matter was of little moment; as the Scotch, at leaſt, were undoubtedly genuine and originals; Murray and others, having ſworn to the fact.

There is a circumſtance which quadrates with the above explication, and ſeems to ſupport it. While the buſineſs was at York, we hear chiefly of the *matter* of the letters; but at Weſtminiſter and Hampton-Court, ſolely, of the *hand-writing*. This was well ſuited to the two different ſpecies of exhibitions. The weight of the criminal matter, was produced at York; and chiefly in the three firſt letters from Glaſgow; which in a manner, proved themſelves, even without her hand-writing, to be the Queen's: The matter contained in them being ſuch, it was ſaid, "as could hardly be invented or deviſed by any other, than by herſelf; for that they diſcourſe of ſome things which were unknown to any other, than to herſelf and Bothwell *." But theſe letters being withdrawn afterward, for the reaſons above mentioned, there remained, comparatively ſpeaking, but little evidence, either of adultery or murder; therefore the great point, was to aſcertain what evidence they contained

* Goodall, II. 142, 143.

ed to be genuine, by authenticating the hand-writing. The Contents at York, proved, in a manner, Queen Mary to be the compoſer of the letters; whether the hand-writing were her's, or not. The Hand-writing at Weſtminſter and Hampton-Court, proved, in a manner, that ſhe compoſed the letters; whether the Contents were very criminal, or not.

But all hitherto done, was to little purpoſe, as being liable to the utmoſt ſuſpicion; and Queen Elizabeth evidently ſaw this. The authenticity of the ſeven writings produced on the eighth of December, was proved from the likeneſs of the hand-writing to that of the thirteen, produced on the ſeventh; and that of the thirteen, had no other evidence, but that Murray and his aſſociates, avowed and ſwore on the tenth, that the hand-writing was the Queen's. To collate on this principle, had all the air of collating one forgery with another; as both parcels, were preſented by the ſame perſons, the accuſers of Queen Mary; referred to the ſame ſubject; and were written, nearly about the ſame time. If other letters could have been found, in the undoubted hand of the Queen; have been preſented by neutral perſons; have been written, at a period far back; and have related to a quite different ſubject; The production of ſuch, and the collation of the ſeven with them, could not have

BOOK VII. have been liable to the ſame ſuſpicion. This ſeems to have been the preciſe light in which Elizabeth and her Miniſters now began to view the ſubject; and they made no delay in taking new ground.

Five days only afterward *, Queen Elizabeth held a meeting of Privy Council at Hampton-Court. She ſummoned ſix of the firſt Nobility of England to attend it; and to give ſtill greater weight and efficacy to their proceedings, ſhe was perſonally preſent herſelf. The ſeven French writings were then again produced: They were collated 'for the manner of writing and faſhion of orthography with ſundry other letters' (not thoſe of December ſeventh; and produced by Queen Elizabeth, not by Murray) 'long ſince heretofore' (not at the preſent period) 'written' (not on the ſubject of the murder and adultery) 'and ſent by the Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth' (not to Bothwell.)

What now ſeemed to be clearly proved, was, that the hand-writing of the ſeven writings, was the ſame with that of letters, ſent long before, by the Scottiſh to the Engliſh Queen. But however this plauſible face was put upon the buſineſs, it was in reality as ſuſpicious as ever. And not only as ſuſpicious, but it was ſtill as illegal as ever, to admit theſe new letters, under the circumſtances

* December 14.

ſtances in which they were produced; for no Court of law ought to have admitted them to be really in the hand-writing of the Queen of Scots, merely becauſe Queen Elizabeth ſaid ſo. Probably they were ſome of thoſe old counterfeits, acknowleged by Lethington, to be his*; eſpecially, as the new ones to Bothwell, ſeem to have been his, alſo. It is even poſſible, that genuine letters of an old date, from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, were now actually produced; but who could be ſure, but that theſe might have been copied purpoſely *now*, into a hand ſimilar to that of the ſeven French writings; and yet not exactly the ſame, with Queen Mary's own hand? Still there was ſufficient room to ſuſpect, that there was a collation of one forgery with another.

But this was not attended to. The great objects which Queen Elizabeth had in view, were now attained. The genuineneſs of the hand-writing was not only admitted; but a ſanction was given to the meaſure which was uppermoſt in his mind, that the Queen of Scots ſhould not be admitted into her preſence; nor enjoy the right of a public trial. This not only prevented a detection of the forgery, but relieved the Engliſh Queen from a ſpectacle which of all others, would have been the moſt unpleaſant to her. What followed, of a more public nature, after

* Camden, 143. 144. Crawford, 114.

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ter theſe private ſcrutinies into the writings aſcribed to the Queen of Scots, has already been related, in a former part of this Work.

Above a twelvemonth * after the meetings at Weſtminſter and Hampton Court, the Biſhop of Roſs, under a fictitious name, publiſhed his defence of Queen Mary, at London; in which, he particularly attacked the authenticity of the letters. His work was immediately ſuppreſſed, by order of the Engliſh Cabinet. Upon republiſhing it, a ſecond time, in the following year, from a preſs upon the continent, it ſhared the ſame fate, upon arriving in England. After being long a priſoner in the Tower, he was forced into exile †.

Before that time, as has already been mentioned, all the writings aſcribed to Queen Mary that now remain, were publiſhed in England ‡; and without doubt, by Cecil himſelf, to whoſe hands the copies had been delivered. At the ſame time, it was induſtriouſly given out, that *both parties*, Murray and his adherents, and the deputies of Queen Mary, had been impartially heard at the trial at Weſtminſter and Hampton Court. Queen Mary, had as little opportunity as ever, to ſee this publication; and probably never heard of it. Her friends alſo, were either cut off, baniſhed, or otherwiſe prevented from making any efforts in her

* Spring 1570. † 1573. ‡ End of 1571.

her favour. And here ends the hiſtorical part of this ſubject. BOOK VII.

Contents of the Writings.

The firſt obſervation to be made with reſpect to the letters, is, that from their contents, there appears to be, *no ſufficient occaſion for any letters whatever, being written;* either upon the ſubject of the projected murder of Darnly, or of the ſeizure of the Queen.

We cannot conceive but that every thing relating to thoſe points, would have been ſettled before hand. The Queen and Bothwell had been in company, for a conſiderable time; both before ſhe went to Glaſgow, and to Stirling. In plots of violence and death, it is incredible, that thoſe concerned in them, would have recourſe to letters, when converſation, was in their power: Every point could have been eaſier and more ſafely ſettled by ſpeaking, than by writing. Letters might fall into the hands of enemies; and furniſh the means of detection. The Queen indeed is made, at the end of the firſt letter from Glaſgow, to deſire it to be burned, as dangerous from its contents; but as ſhe actually, it is ſaid, wrote and ſent this dangerous letter, the deſire expreſſed,

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ſeems rather to be a cloak to the forgery of it, than a proof of its authenticity.

When we next caſt our eye, upon what the enemies themſelves of the Queen, have written, They declare that the ſcheme, both of the murder and of the ſeizure, had been concerted before hand, between her and Bothwell.

Farther, upon peruſing the letters themſelves, there is nothing in them, that the Queen has written, or can be ſuppoſed to have ſpoken in credit to the bearer, that could in the ſmalleſt degree, ſettle any thing that was unſettled in the affairs, to which they relate. There is nothing in them, indeed, which ſhows that any thing was ſettled at all: With reſpect to the ſeizure about which they ſpeak more plainly, neither time, nor place are mentioned; nor any final reſolution taken, as to the adopting of the very meaſure itſelf. There is nothing in them alſo, that could cauſe an alteration in the mode of the murder; or that could haſten, or retard it. All had ſucceeded to a wiſh. The King had recovered ſo far as to be able almoſt immediately to ſet out with her from Glaſgow: He was willing to ſet out with her, to any place ſhe pleaſed. If indeed he had not been in a recovered ſtate; or had refuſed to commit himſelf to her guidance, there might have been a good reaſon for the Queen's writing to Bothwell, as an alteration

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in the plan, as to time and place, muſt have been the conſequence. There could be no occaſion to write, that the King was ſuſpicious of attempts againſt his life; and therefore, that Bothwell ought to be more cautious in his preparations, for the King notwithſtanding, agreed to come to Edinburgh, which was all that was wanted. And Bothwell beſides, needed not to be told, that the King was ſuſpicious; for what Walcar had reported, was ſufficient to excite ſuſpicion. Neither could there be any occaſion for the Queen to aſſure Bothwell of her own conſtancy, and vent her jealouſy of his wife; for we cannot believe, but that both of them, muſt have been now by the ſuppoſition, ſo mutually devoted to each other, as to remove all diſtruſt, on either ſide.

A ſecond obſervation, with reſpect to the letters, is, that even ſuppoſing there had been occaſion for writing them, *it is altogether impoſſible, that they could have been written, within the compaſs of time, allotted by Murray's own journal.*

From that journal, the Queen was *three* days in Glaſgow; and one, in Stirling: From the internal evidence, or the Contents of the letters themſelves, ſhe muſt have been *eight* whole days in Glaſgow; and *ſeven* in Stirling *.

* See Preface to Appendix I.

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The only anſwer that can poſſibly be made, is, that Murray's journal is not a true one. It was however written by the Queen's accuſers; and delivered in, as well as the letters, to Cecil: By conſequence, one or other at leaſt of the two, muſt be a mere fabrication. Murray's journal however, we may believe, gives the true chronology. Crawford's Memoirs indeed ſay, that the Queen continued with the King in Glaſgow ten days before ſhe left it; but no other particulars are mentioned in theſe Memoirs; and we cannot but conceive, that they only mean, that the Queen in her journey to Glaſgow, was ten days abſent from Edinburgh; and which agrees with Murray's journal. Knox's hiſtory expreſsly ſays, the Queen tarried with the King at Glaſgow ſix days *. As to the Stirling letters, there is no ground whatever to believe, that the Queen was in Stirling, more than one whole day. But no imaginable means can be conceived for doing the buſineſs of the letters, in leſs than ſeven or eight. The whole letters from Glaſgow and from Stirling, plainly appear to have been written without any knowledge of Murray's journal. The diſagreement as to chronology, was perhaps obſerved too late. The journal had either been actually delivered to Cecil before the letters; or if this were not ſo, the whole letters would have

* Knox, 403.

have required to have been caſt in a new mould, and confined to ſuch a ſhort compaſs of time, as would have totally cut off the matter of them, from being a ſubject of correſpondence. The enemies of the Queen, in this dilemma, ſtill adhered to the letters as they were: Relying upon two things, The impreſſion that the facts contained in them would make upon the Engliſh Commiſſioners; and The little ſcrutiny that might be made in public meetings, into mere dates, or rather chronology; for none of the letters are dated, except one. Having it impreſſed upon them, that the facts were true, they would give themſelves little trouble as to chronology; and that, in reality, would have required a private and nice calculation. In this, Murray was juſtified by experience: The Commiſſioners ſpeak only of the foul matter, contained in the letters. BOOK VII.

But that the letters, from their contents, imply much more time, than the journal aſſigns for them, is paſt all controverſy. To any reader who knew nothing elſe of the hiſtory of Queen Mary, than is contained in the letters, it would appear, that in an abſence of ſeveral weeks, if not months, ſhe was writing, and ſpinning out letters, for pure amuſement to herſelf, in a ſtate of profound leiſure; interſperſed here and there, with ſome lines of a dark and criminal nature, which he could not rightly underſtand.

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This profound leiſure, appears equally in the Glaſgow and Stirling letters. We have among ſo many other things, the idle ſtory of the Ring, in the former; and of the Bracelets, in the latter.

It is to be obſerved, in the third place, That the letters, *deſcribe Darnly in a light, incompatible with the character, which hiſtory gives of him.*

The plan of the letters, ſeems to have been, To repreſent Darnly, as diſſembling his ſuſpicions and jealouſy of the Queen: In the next place, as counterfeiting extreme love for her, *in order*, to regain her affections; to detach her from the Lords who plotted againſt his life; and from Bothwell who had not only gained upon her heart, but even had the poſſeſſion of it. Hence, as ſhe actually, though not expreſsly, refuſed his proffers of reconciliation and love, her cruelty and crime were to be enhanced; from both deluding him, and bringing him to deſtruction. At the ſame time however, ſhould the letters prove to be forgeries in the opinion of the Commiſſioners, the forgers, could, in ſome degree, ſave their credit with the Queen; for they repreſented, that Darnly was impoſing upon her; and that ſhe herſelf was acting, ſolely at the inſtigation of Bothwell. The ſcheme was deeply laid: It looked two ways; and perhaps Lethington only, was equal to it.

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That this was the plan, appears from the letters. It has been ſuppoſed, that Darnly was impoſed upon by the Queen. How far that was completely the caſe, is very doubtful; as we in ſo many paſſages, hear of his ſuſpicions remaining: And remaining they certainly were, to the laſt, with reſpect to the adultery; however he might have been impoſed upon, in ſo far, as to the ſcheme of murder, as to run the riſk of going with her to Edinburgh. But with regard to his attempt, in his turn, to impoſe upon her, there can be no doubt. The Queen is made to ſay ſo herſelf, in many paſſages. She expreſsly declares, that ſhe counterfeited to believe that all his profeſſions of love were true; but that in reality, ſhe gave no credit to them. All concurs to prove, that Darnly, was acting the part of diſſimulation. BOOK VII.

Let us next view the *real* ſituation of Darnly; to learn, if it could give any colouring or aid, to ſuch a plan. And ſome ground for it to ſtand upon, is not wanting. He was at that time, according to hiſtory, ſorrowful and penitent; and this, as we may believe, for his former ſavage and inſulting behaviour to the Queen. A ſubtle and refining ingenuity, came in, to ſupply more ground. A weak mind, might, as often has been the caſe, run from one exceſs to another; eſpecially when broken by miſcarriages; debilitated and ſoftened by diſeaſe.

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It might hence be very poſſible, in ſuch a character, and under ſuch circumſtances, to paſs from the extreme of outrage, to that of repentance, lowlineſs and reſpect.

This ſcheme is finely imagined: But how far judiciouſly executed, is extremely diſputable. Darnly's character, in place of being altered, is entirely new-moulded: It is carried not only beyond nature, but beyond art. That Darnly could not *really* act ſo and ſpeak ſo, as he does in the letters, cannot be a doubt: But we even cannot believe; that he could affect to act ſo, and to ſpeak ſo. This is ſuch a new creation, as to carry incredibility in its boſom. The forgers however, relied upon two things to ſupport the letters in this reſpect; Their own commentaries upon them; And the actual conduct of the Queen, in marrying Bothwell. The laſt of theſe, they truſted had carried ſuſpicion, if not conviction, to the public in general; and that previous to, and independent of the letters. In theſe circumſtances therefore, they ventured to overcharge the picture; becauſe the Commiſſioners and the world at large, were prepared at that time, to believe almoſt any thing, that could be ſaid, againſt the Queen.

It is not incredible, that a perſon of Darnly's character, might, upon occaſions, ſhew himſelf in very different, if not, oppoſite humours. The forgers, with great ſkill, as has

has already been ſaid, laid hold of this part of their taſk; but they certainly executed it, in the manner of Romance; by the colours with which they painted the extreme wildneſs and tranſition in his ſentiments, with reſpect to the Queen. His nature was oppoſitely turned. He had come the length, when he was ſick, of ſorrow and repentance. But hiſtory carries him no farther. There is no mention of love. The vivacity that the ſullen Darnly betrayed, eſpecially in his ſickneſs; the idolatry of love, which the unfeeling Darnly diſcovered, and in ſickneſs too, wear ſuch an improbable air, that we cannot admit the expreſſions of them, to be genuine. He had committed, and in the very ſeaſon of youth, when love is ſtrongeſt, more affronts and outrages againſt the moſt beautiful and enchanting Princeſs of the age, than almoſt any man has committed againſt any woman, in the hiſtory of the world.

Nor was there the leaſt ſymptom of ſuch a conduct coming to an end. Le Croc his own confident, aſſerted, only four weeks before the Queen went to Glaſgow, That "his deportment was incurable." And he ſet out for that place, ſullenly, without taking leave of her. For this wayward obſtinate man, in leſs than a month, to be able to ſay to the Queen, "That he would riſe from his ſick-bed, the ſooner, if ſhe would lodge beſide him: That he was ſo glad to ſee her, that he

BOOK VII. he believed he would die for gladneſs: That God knew how much he was puniſhed for making his God of her; and for having no other thought, but of her: That he would rather give his life, than diſpleaſe her: That he would do whatever ſhe would do, and love all whom ſhe loved *,"—exceeds all meaſure of faith.

True indeed, he was not ſincere in ſaying ſo; but we muſt repeat again, that we cannot conceive, he could even put on ſo much extravagance; and even if he did, it was ſo great, that he could not but believe, that the Queen would ſee through it. The part of Darnly hence, beſides being aſſumed, is ſo much over-acted, as, of itſelf, to undermine the credit of the letters.

There is likewiſe, more ſenſe, and reflection, in the Darnly of the letters, than in the Darnly of hiſtory. "May not a man of my age, for lack of council, fall twice or thrice, or come ſhort of his promiſe; and at laſt, repent himſelf, and be chaſtiſed by experience? When any perſon offends me, if for my refuge I might complain to you, I would ſpeak it to no other body; but not being familiar with you, neceſſity conſtrains me, to keep it in my breaſt; and that cauſes me to loſe my wit, for very anger." Had we been preſent at this ſuppoſed converſation, we could hardly have believed our ears, if Darnly,

* See Appendix I.

Darnly, who was ſo fooliſh, had ſpoken thus, ſo like a wiſe man. No wonder, that the Queen, is made to ſay, a little after, that Darnly, ſhowed her ſo many flatteries, ſo "wiſely," that Bothwell would be ſurpriſed at it. BOOK VII.

A fourth obſervation is, That *the Queen herſelf, is repreſented, in a light altogether contradictory to hiſtory.* It is to be believed, there is little occaſion, to enlarge upon this point.

The plan of the letters, with reſpect to the Queen, has already been mentioned; but however artfully laid, the features which are given to her, in the courſe of them, are in various reſpects, entirely inconſiſtent with her hiſtory.

Vehement love for Bothwell, is imputed to the Queen; but this is neither ſupported by the facts in her life, nor does it appear that a vehement affection for any perſon whatever, was in her nature; as already has been endeavoured to be ſhown, in a foregoing Book.

Indecent manners, wantonneſs, a groſs paſſion, are alſo aſcribed to a Princeſs, ſingularly diſtinguiſhed for oppoſite diſpoſitions. This muſt ſtrike the eye, and ſhock the feelings of every reader, as he turns over the pages: And it is beſides, a contradiction to the genuine paſſion of love. "I cannot ſleep as I deſire; that is, in your arms,

BOOK VII.

arms, my dear love: I was leaning upon Lord Livingſton, warming me at the fire; you cannot be ſo welcome to him (*Darnly*) as to another (*Bothwell*) ſaid he, and with that he thruſt my body: This letter will ſalute you, what I cannot do myſelf: The marriage of our bodies: She dedicates to you her heart, her body."—Theſe are expreſſions, which no perſon, upon reading the true hiſtory of the Queen, can forbear to revolt at, in the letters.

An expreſs but incredible avowal of guilt, wickedneſs and depravity, is put into the mouth of Queen Mary. She writes the praiſes of Darnly, and like one ſelf-condemned, ſays nothing in her own defence, to the charges he brings againſt her. "I ſpare (ſays ſhe to Bothwell) neither honour, conſcience, hazard nor greatneſs whatever." Has hiſtory often recorded, a declaration ſo black as this? Is not the human mind even where very guilty, diſpoſed to vindicate itſelf; to give a ſpecious colouring, at leaſt, to criminal actions? Can we believe, that Queen Mary, whoſe life, liberty and crown, were endangered by Darnly, would be altogether at a loſs, to find out pretexts for plotting againſt him; on the ſuppoſition that ſhe did plot? Might not ſhe on the contrary, be tempted perhaps, although unjuſtifiably, to conſider extremities againſt her

her huſband, as meaſures of defence for her- BOOK VII.
ſelf?

A meanneſs, abjectneſs, and menial devotion are farther aſcribed to the Queen. Above all, perhaps, theſe were moſt repugnan to her character. Her mind was naturally too high: Her love of rule exceſſive: Her paſſion for undivided ſovereignty, inextinguiſhable. What then are we to think of,—"The moſt faithful lover you ever had: The kiſſing of your hands: My behaviour ſhall aſſure me of your good grace: I repute not life precious to me, except in ſo far, as it and I, are agreeable to you: I ſhall do nothing without your will; which I ſhall follow all my life more willingly, than you declare it: Voluntary ſubjection, the pleaſanteſt good, if you will accept it: Lowly ſubmit to your commandments: Worthy of your authority: God give me your good favour:" And many other ſuch paſſages?

It is to be obſerved, in the fifth place, with reſpect to theſe writings, *That they are inconſiſtent with the Queen's ſtyle.*

This is a point, which is to be decided upon, by every critical reader who peruſes, both the forged writings, and thoſe which are genuine.

In the latter, beſides virtuous and amiable ſentiments, there is an elegance, a refinement, an elevation and unction of ſtyle: The pen ſoars often above the ſubject. In the former

BOOK VII.

former a plebeian and colloquial meanneſs; an indecent and groſs vulgarity. "The devil ſunder us*, (ſhe is made to ſay), and God knit us † together, for the moſt faithful couple that ever he united: This is my faith, I will die in it: I ſhall love you all the days of my life;" and many other ſuch expreſſions. There are beſides a number of paſſages, in which, a pertneſs, quaintneſs and affectation of wit are to be found; which we meet not with, in the real writings of the Queen.

Beſides particular expreſſions and phraſes, the whole ſtructure of the compoſition, is exceedingly different from her's. In the imputed writings, the narrative is cut into numerous paragraphs: The paragraphs often into ſhort ſentences: The ſenſe is in general, clear; although the Queen, it is ſaid, wrote in a hurry: We have not to go back, in ſearch of antecedents. The ſtyle has much of what the French, call *coupè*. In the genuine, we have the *ſtyle periodique*: There is a characteriſtic *flumen orationis*. The Queen, although in a ſtate of leiſure, ſeems almoſt never to have lifted her pen from the paper: The narrative runs without ſtop: There are few points: A great maſs is tied together with *ands ifs alſos* and other ſuch words: Parentheſiſes frequently occur, and

* Herſelf and Darnly.

† Herſelf and Bothwell.

and ſometimes incloſed within one another: We have often to go far back, to find out the connexion and ſenſe. When the Queen ſat down to write, ideas ſeem to have crowded faſt into her mind: Hence we meet with ſo many comprehenſive paragraphs; ſo many aggregations of ſentiments and circumſtances, even in a ſingle ſentence. To this alſo is to be aſcribed, that ardour which reigns through her real writings; which is ſo difficult to be kept up, in a laboured and forged compoſition. BOOK VII.

No reader, when comparing the Elegy on Francis II. and the Sonnets to Bothwell, could divine, that they were written, as was alleged, by the ſame pen. The former is the production of the Muſes: In the latter, we may ſafely affirm, there is neither poetry, nor verſe.

The laſt obſervation, that ſhall be made, is, That the writings *are inconſiſtent with themſelves*. Few words are neceſſary on this topic.

The letters expreſsly aſſert, that Queen Mary was in love with Bothwell, before the murder of her huſband. The ſonnets, that this was not the caſe; even at the time of the ſeizure and rape.

In the letters and ſonnets, the Queen is continually afraid, that Bothwell might prefer his own wife to her; and he on his part, expreſſes no ſuſpicion of the Queen's conſtancy

BOOK VII.

ſtancy to himſelf. In one of the forged contracts, on the contrary, there is nothing but an engagement on the ſide of the Queen; *binding herſelf*, to take Bothwell for a huſband.

From ſome paſſages in the ſonnets, it appears, they were written before any proceſs of divorce was begun or thought of, between Bothwell and his wife: From others, that they were compoſed after the rape, at a time, when Bothwell was abſent from the Queen; but which did not happen, till ſome weeks after her marriage with him. That abſence too, was only for the ſpace of three or four days. Such a ſhort ſeparation, was not ſufficient for the writing of a poem of one hundred and ſixty lines; eſpecially as the Queen at that time, was in a ſtate of deſpair, on account of Bothwell's brutality to her. And ſuch a long inſipid poem, is irreconcilable with the real paſſion of love.

THE END.

APPEN-

APPENDIX I.

Containing a Copy of the Letters and other Writings which were ascribed to Mary Queen of Scots.

APPENDIX I.

Copy of the Letters and other Writings aſcribed to Mary Queen of Scots.

IT is not a little remarkable, that the writings which were aſcribed to Queen Mary, and urged as the great proofs of her guilt, have never as yet been laid before the public, in a legible form. They are alluded to, in every hiſtory of England or Scotland: Opinions have been delivered upon them: The character of the Queen has been in part, decided by them; But ſtill the writings themſelves have not been preſented in a ſtate fit for the peruſal of mankind in general; who, have thus, not had the means of judging for themſelves.

In order to obtain a ſight of theſe famous papers, we have not only to go to the libraries of the learned, and to works of mere

controverſy; but they are found to be written in ſuch an ancient idiom and orthography, that they cannot be underſtood without a gloſſary and explanations.

To remove theſe difficulties, by exhibiting them in a legible ſtate, is the preſent object. And that the judgment of the reader may be entirely fair, it has been thought proper alſo to follow them with a conſiderable number of thoſe writings of the Queen, which on all hands, are admitted to be genuine. An opportunity is thus preſented of comparing the one with the other, to ſee if they tally; and have been written by the ſame, or by different pens. Without this comparative view, we ſhould only hear what is ſaid upon one ſide.

In the firſt appendix, are contained the writings which are diſputed: In the ſecond, thoſe which are authentic.

Before producing the diſputed writings, a few advertiſements may be neceſſary. I have ſtudiouſly preſerved the original words. All freedom that has been taken in that reſpect, has been only to ſpell them according to the preſent orthography; and to uſe words that are now current, in place of ſuch as have become obſolete. The idiom I have refrained from altering; except in a very few inſtances, where the ſenſe was obſcure. The arrangement of the words is altogether untouched. A few explanations are inſerted, by

by parentheſis, in italics; and ſome notes are added at the bottom of the pages.

In thoſe notes, my chief object has been, to hold, as much as poſſible, the writings, (however forged, in my opinion) to be plauſible, and conſiſtent. I was led to this, from a belief, that they would actually be ſo; whether Queen Mary really compoſed them; or whether they were the work of her adverſaries. In both caſes, from ſuch able hands, I expected that reſult; and being hence diſpoſed to think, that when any paſſage had the appearance of contradiction or of abſurdity, that this was really not the caſe; I exerted my endeavours to find out how it might be explained. Although, after all, I have frequently failed in this attempt, yet I differ not a little from ſome writers, who think very meanly of the abilities diſcovered in theſe fabricated papers.

They conſiſt of Letters from Glaſgow: Of Letters from Stirling: Of Sonnets: And of Contracts.

NUMBER FIRST.

The Letters ſaid to have been written by Queen Mary to Bothwell, from Glaſgow.

It is of importance, before producing theſe letters, to mention, that as there are

none of them dated, except the ſecond, "on Saturday morning from Glaſgow," and which is ſaid to have been January 25. 1567, we are left to find out the dates of the reſt, from other ſources. Of theſe, there are two: The journal which Murray delivered to Cecil, one of Queen Elizabeth's miniſters; and the internal chronology, ſupplied by the letters themſelves.

According to Murray's journal, the Queen ſet out from Edinburgh to Glaſgow, on Tueſday, January 21. 1567; attended by Bothwell and Huntly. They ſtopped at Callendar, the ſeat of Lord Livingſton, till Thurſday, January 23. On the morning of Thurſday, Bothwell and Huntly returned to Edinburgh; and the Queen, proceeding by Stirling to Glaſgow, reached it, that ſame evening. On the 24th, 25th and 26th, ſhe wrote her letters from Glaſgow to Bothwell. On the 27th, ſhe brought the King from Glaſgow to Callendar. On the 28th, ſhe proceeded with him to Linlithgow, and remained there all that day, and likewiſe, the next, the 29th. On the 29th, ſhe wrote from Linlithgow to Bothwell. On the 30th, ſhe brought the King to Edinburgh; and Bothwell met her upon the way. With reſpect to Bothwell's motions, it appears from the ſame journal, that he ſet out from Edinburgh on the evening of the 24th, on a journey to Lydiſdale upon the borders between

tween England and Scotland; and that he did not begin to return from thence, towards Edinburgh, till the 28th.

From the internal chronology of the letters, a very different ſet of dates is to be collected. We cannot decide poſitively indeed; but the following ſhould ſeem to have been the journal of the Queen's motions and letters. On the evening of Saturday the 18th, at lateſt, ſhe arrived at Glaſgow. On the 19th and 20th, ſhe wrote her firſt long letter. On the 21ſt, in the morning, ſhe ſent off Paris with it to Bothwell (we ſuppoſe) at Edinburgh; and whom ſhe conceived to be returned from his journey, by the time, Paris ſhould arrive. On the 24th, in the evening, ſhe expected Paris to return with the anſwer. "On Saturday morning," the 25th, (as dated by herſelf), ſhe wrote her ſecond letter, and ſent it by Beaton, another meſſenger, complaining of Bothwell's forgetfulneſs. On the evening of the 25th, at ſooneſt, Bothwell's anſwer to her firſt letter arrived; and in which he expreſſed ſuſpicions of her fidelity to him. Late at night, on the 26th, ſhe wrote her third letter, to remove theſe ſuſpicions. This could not have been ſent off (as appears by its contents) till after the morning of the 27th; and ſuppoſes, that Bothwell, by that time, was in the near neighbourhood of Glaſgow: For ſhe deſires him to advertiſe her next

morning (the 28th) "early" of his welfare. On the 27th, ſhe left Glaſgow with the King. On the 28th, Bothwell's anſwer to her third letter, (ſent off by him, at the ſooneſt after the morning of the 28th), would reach her only on the 28th in the evening, or on the 29th in the morning; and ſomewhere on the road between Glaſgow and Craigmillar. The Queen's fourth letter, in anſwer to this ſecond of Bothwell's, ſeems conſequently to have been written late on the 28th, or early on the 29th. On the 28th, ſhe was to arrive at Craigmillar with the King; and on Wedneſday the 29th, was to go by herſelf to Edinburgh.

Thus, by Murray's journal, the Queen was only in Glaſgow one evening, the three next whole days, and the following morning. By the letters themſelves, ſhe was one evening, eight whole days, and one morning. One of the two muſt be a forgery. But no purpoſe that we can gueſs at, could have been ſerved by forging the journal; and the ſuſpicion lies hence, on this, and on other accounts, againſt the letters. The ſame obſervations will apply to the letters from Stirling.

LETTER

LETTER I.

BEING departed from the place * where I left my heart, it is eaſy to be judged what was my countenance, ſeeing that I was even as much as a body without a heart; which was the occaſion, that during dinner-time, I held converſation with nobody; nor yet durſt any preſent themſelves unto me, judging that it was not good ſo to do.

Four miles before I came to the town, a gentleman of the Earl of Lennox, came and made his commendations to me; and excuſed him that he came not to meet me, by reaſon he durſt not enterprize the ſame, becauſe of the rude words that I had ſpoken to Cunningham: And he deſired that he ſhould come to the inquiſition of the matter † that I ſuſpected him of. This laſt ſpeaking was of his own head, without any commiſſion.

I

* Callendar, near Falkirk, where ſhe parted from Bothwell.

† The matter here alluded to, has been thought to be the murder of Rizio, but was poſſibly ſome recent ſlander againſt the Queen; for we find her on Jan. 20. only three days before, writing thus to her Ambaſſador in France—"We perceive the King occupied and buſy enough to have inquiſition of our doings, which God willing ſhall always be ſuch as none ſhall have occaſion to be offended with them; or to report of us any wiſe but honourably; howſoever he, his father, and their favourers, ſpeak; who, we know, want no good will, to make us have ado."

I anſwered to him, that there was no receipt could ſerve againſt fear, and that he would not be afraid, in caſe he were not culpable; and that I anſwered only rudely to the doubts that were in his letters. In ſhort, I made him hold his tongue. The reſt were long to write. Sir James Hamilton met me, who ſhewed, that the other time *, when he (*Lennox*) heard of my coming, he departed away, and ſent Howſtoun to ſhew him, that he would never have believed that he would have purſued him, nor yet have joined with the Hamiltons. He anſwered, that he was only come to ſee me, and that he would neither join Stewart nor Hamilton, unleſs by my commandment. He (*Lennox*) deſired that he would come and ſpeak with him: He refuſed it.

The Laird of Luſſe, Howſtoun, and Caldwell's ſon, with forty horſe, or thereabout, came and met me. The Laird of Luſſe ſaid, he was charged to a court-day by the King's father, which ſhould be this day, againſt his (*Lennox's*) own hand-writ, which he has: And yet notwithſtanding, knowing of my coming, it is delayed. He was ſent for to come to him, (*Lennox*), which he refuſed, and ſwears that he will endure nothing of him.

Never

* Probably ſome little time before January 24; when, upon ſome groundleſs rumour that the Queen was coming to Glaſgow, Lennox then left it for a few days.

Never one of that * town came to ſpeak to me, which cauſes me to think that they are his; and nevertheleſs he ſpeaks good; at the leaſt, his ſon. I ſee no other gentleman, but thoſe of my company.

The King ſent for Joachim yeſternight, and aſked at him, why I lodged not beſide him? and that he would riſe (*from his ſick-bed*) the ſooner, if that were; and wherefore I came? If it was for good appointment (*reconciliation*)? and if you were there in particular? and if I had made my liſt of houſehold-officers? If I had taken Paris † and Gilbert to write to me? and *(if)* that I would ſend Joſeph away? I am abaſhed *(ſurpriſed)* who has ſhewn him ſo far; yea he ſpoke even of the marriage of Baſtiane.

† This bearer will tell you ſomewhat upon this ‡.

I aſked him concerning his letters, in which he complained of the cruelty of ſome (*the Queen*); anſwered, that he was aſtoniſhed, and that he was ſo glad to ſee me, that he believed to die for gladneſs. He found great fault that I was penſive ‖.

I

* *That* for *this*. Probably an intended blunder; to hide the forgery.

‡ *This* in the marginal note, probably refers to the ſubject of *this* paragraph, or portion of the letter; and chiefly perhaps, to one of the preceding queſtions.

‖ On the ſuppoſition, either, that the Queen was engaged in the plot againſt Darnly's life, or was calling to mind the paſt inſults ſhe had received from him, it was natural for her to betray penſiveneſs; and this circumſtance roves the ſkill of the forger.

I departed to ſupper. This bearer will tell you of my arriving *. He prayed me to return: the which I did. He declared unto me his ſickneſs, and that he would make no teſtament, but only leave all things to me; and that I was the cauſe of his malady, becauſe of the regret that he had, that I was ſo ſtrange unto him. And thus he ſaid: You aſk me what I mean by the cruelty contained in my letter? It is of you alone that will not accept my offers and repentance †. I confeſs that I have failed, but not into that ‡, which I ever denied; and in like manner have failed too, ſundry of your ſubjects, whom you have forgiven.

I am young.

You will ſay, that you have forgiven me oft-times, and yet that I return to my faults. May not a man of my age, for lack of counſel, fall twice or thrice, or come ſhort of his promiſe, and at laſt repent himſelf, and be chaſtiſed by experience? If I may obtain pardon, I proteſt I ſhall never make fault again. And I crave no other thing but that we may be at bed and board together as huſband

* This ſentence is plainly miſplaced; perhaps to give an air of hurry or accidental negligence.

† There is no evidence of offers or repentance being expreſſed in that letter; only complaints. Principal Robertſon, i. 376. and Keith, 350.

‡ Murder of Rizio.

huſband and wife; and if you will not conſent to this, I ſhall never riſe out of this bed. I pray you, tell me your reſolution. God knows how I am puniſhed for making my God of you, and for having no other thought but on you; and if at any time I offend you, you are the cauſe, becauſe, when any offends me, if, for my refuge, I might complain unto you, I would ſpeak it unto no other body; but when I hear any thing, not being familiar with you, neceſſity conſtrains me to keep it in my breaſt; and that cauſes me to loſe my wit for very anger.

I anſwered always unto him, but that would be over long to write at length. I aſked why he would paſs away in the Engliſh ſhip *. He denies it, and ſwears thereunto; but he grants that he ſpake with the men. After this, I aſked him concerning the inquiſition of Hiegait †. He denied the ſame,

* This, there is no doubt had been his intention: A ſtep which would have turned to the diſcredit of the Queen. That he is here made almoſt altogether to deny it, ſeems intended to make us believe, that ſhe had, upon very inſufficient grounds charged him with it.

† Hiegait, according to the declaration of one Walcar, had ſaid that the King was to crown the Prince his ſon, and take the government upon himſelf. Upon being examined, he denied he had ſaid ſo; and, on the contrary, aſſerted that he had heard, that the King himſelf was to be put in ward, and for his author, named one Caldwell. Caldwell being alſo examined, denied that he had ſaid ſo to Hiegait. This laſt rumour of putting the King in ward, was

ſame *, until I ſhewed him the very words (*which*) were ſpoken. At which time he ſaid, that Mynto had advertiſed him, that it was ſaid, that ſome of the Council had brought a letter to me to be ſubſcribed, to put him in priſon, and to ſlay him if he made reſiſtance. And he aſked the ſame at Mynto himſelf; who anſwered that he believed the ſame to be true. To-morrow † I will ſpeak to him upon this point. As to the reſt ‡ of Willie Hiegait's, he confeſſed it, but it was the morning § after my coming before he did it.

He would very fain that I ſhould lodge in his lodging. I refuſed it, and ſaid to him, that he behoved to be purged, and that could not be done here. He ſaid to me, I hear ſay you have brought a litter with you; but I had rather have paſſed with you. I fancy he

was communicated by Hiegait to Mynto, by Mynto to Lennox, and by Lennox to the King.

* That is, what Walcar had declared.

† January 25; according to Murray's journal.

‡ That is, the putting the King in ward.

§ That is, the morning of January 24. From which we conclude, that in the original, this ſentence was interlined, or written upon the margin, after the whole letter perhaps was finiſhed: A device in imitation of nature, and worthy of an able forger.

he believed * that I would have ſent him away priſoner. I anſwered, that I would take him with me to Craigmillar, where the phyſician and I might help him, and not be far from my ſon. He anſwered that he was ready when I pleaſed, provided I would aſſure him of his requeſt.

He deſires nobody to ſee him. He is angry when I ſpeak of Walcar, and ſays that he ſhall pluck the ears out of his head, and that he lies. For I aſked him concerning that; and alſo if he was angry with ſome of the Lords, and would threaten them. He denies that, and ſays he loves them all, and prays me to give truſt to nothing againſt him. As to me, he would rather give his life before he did any diſpleaſure to me.

And after this, he ſhewed me ſo many little flatteries, ſo calmly, and ſo wiſely, that you will abaſh (*wonder*) thereat. I had almoſt forgot, that he ſaid, he could not doubt of me in this purpoſe † of Hiegait's; for he would never believe that I, who was his proper fleſh, would do him any evil; alſo, that it was ſhewn him, that I refuſed to ſubſcribe the ſame: But as to any others that would purſue him, at leaſt he ſhould ſell his life dear enough; but he ſuſpected nobody, nor

* Darnly's expreſſion a little above, of making "a god of the Queen," is here forgotten by the Letter-writer.

† That is, the declaration of Walcar.

nor yet would not; but would love all that I loved.

He would not let me depart from him, but desired that I should wake with him. I make it seem that I believe that all is true, and take heed thereto, and excused myself for this night that I could not wake. He says that he sleeps not well. You saw him never better, nor speak more humbly. And if I had not a proof of his heart of wax, and that mine were not of a diamond *, into which no shot can pierce, but that which comes forth of your hand, I would have almost had pity of him. But fear not, the place (*my heart*) shall hold unto the death. Remember, in recompence of this, that you suffer not your's to be won by that false race †, who will travel no less with you for the same.

I believe they have been at school together. He has ever the tear in his eye; he salutes every body ‡, yea unto the least, and makes piteous caressing unto them, to make

* That is, "and if I had *not* a proof that mine were of a diamond."

† That is, by the feigned affection of his wife.

‡ This can hardly be reconciled with a passage in the foregoing page, where it is said, "he desires *nobody* to see him."

make them have pity on him *. This day his father bled at the mouth and noſe; gueſs what preſage that is †. I have not yet ſeen him, he keeps his chamber. The King deſires, that I ſhould give him (*Lennox*) meat with my own hands; but give no more truſt where you are ‡, than I ſhall do here §.

This is my firſt day's work: I ſhall end the ſame to-morrow. I write all things, howbeit they be of little weight, to the end that you may take the beſt of all to judge upon. I am doing of a work here that I hate greatly. Have you not deſire to laugh to ſee me lie ſo well, at the leaſt to diſſemble ſo well, and to tell him truth between hands? He ſhewed me almoſt all that is in the name of the Biſhop of Sutherland, and yet I have never divulged one word of what you ſhewed me; but ſolely by force, flattering, and to pray him to aſſure himſelf of me. And by complaining of the Biſhop, I have drawn it all out of him: You have heard the reſt.

* This maſterly ſtroke, would have been worthy of Lethington's pen.

† This was conſidered by the Engliſh Commiſſioners, as hinting at murder.

‡ That is, to your wife.

§ That is, to my huſband.

We are coupled with two falſe races *; the devil ſunder us *(from them)* and God knit us together for ever, for the moſt faithful couple that ever he united. This is my faith, I will die in it.

Excuſe (*that*) I write ill, you may gueſs the half of it; but I cannot mend it, becauſe I am not well at eaſe; and yet very glad to write unto you when the reſt are ſleeping, ſeeing I cannot ſleep as they do, and as I would deſire, that is, in your arms, my dear love, whom I pray God to preſerve from all evil, and ſend you repoſe: I am going to ſeek mine till the morning, when I ſhall end my long letter: but I am vexed that it (*my repoſe*) ſtops me to write news of myſelf unto you, becauſe it is ſo long. Advertiſe me what you have deliberated to do in the matter you knew upon this point †, to the end that we may underſtand each other well, that nothing through it be ſpoiled.

I am wearied, and going to ſleep, and yet I ceaſe not to ſcribble ‡ all this paper, in ſo much

* She, with Darnly: He, with Lady Bothwell.

† Suppoſed to be the murder.

‡ This declares, that what the Queen was *now* writing, was *ſcribbled:* That is not very legible. On account of the paper being about to fail her, ſhe probably made the lines cloſer to one another, the characters ſmaller; and the words were poſſibly contracted and interlined. The memorial, or memorandums which ſoon follow, and with which ſhe concludes

much as reſts thereof. Plagued may this pocky man be, who cauſes me have ſo much pain; for without him, I ſhould have a far pleaſanter ſubject to diſcourſe upon. He is not over-much deformed, yet he has received very much *. He has almoſt ſlain me with his breath; it is worſe than your uncle's; and yet I come no nearer unto him, but in a chair at the bed-feet, and he being at the other end thereof.

The meſſage of the father in the road.

The converſation of Sir James Hamilton.

Of what the Laird of Luſſe ſhewed me of the delay.

Of the queſtions which he aſked at Joachim.

Of my houſehold-officers.

Of my company.

Of the occaſion of my coming.

And of Joſeph.

Item, the converſation that he and I had together.

cludes that part of her letter, which was written on this night, (the 24th) it ſhould ſeem, were ſtill *more* ſcribbled; as ſhe particularly apologizes for *them*, upon concluding the whole letter, the night following.—" Excuſe that thing that is ſcribbled, for I had no paper *yeſterday*, when I wrote that of the memorial." Next day, having got more paper, ſhe continued her letter to the end without ſcribbling. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, how artfully this accident has been made to fall out, on purpoſe to give a ſtrong aſpect of authenticity to the letter.

* This hints at his having been poiſoned.

Of the deſire that he has to pleaſe me, and of his repentance.

Of the interpretations of his letter.

Of Willie Hiegait's matter; of his departing.

Of Lord Livingſtoun *.

I had almoſt forgot, that Lord Livingſtoun, ſaid to me in the Lady Reres' ear at ſupper, that he would drink to the folk that I knew of †, if I would pledge them. And after ſupper he ſaid to me, when I was leaning upon him warming me at the fire, you have ſore going to ſee ſick folk, yet you cannot be ſo welcome to them as you left ſome body this day ‡, in regret, who will never be joyful till he ſee you again. I aſked at him who that was? With that he thruſt my

* Theſe memorandums do not appear to have been intended to be the contents, or a recapitulation of the preceding heads of the letter, for ſeveral heads are omitted; ſome are out of their order; and the ſubject of the laſt one, has not yet been mentioned at all in the letter. Much leſs ſeem the memorandums at the cloſe of the letter to have been deſigned for the contents of what follows here. Both of them, perhaps were memorandums with reſpect to topics, upon which the bearer was to ſpeak, at large, to Bothwell.

† This and what follows in the paragraph, is inconſiſtent with the reſerve which the Queen maintained in the plot againſt Darnly; and incompatible with that decorum which ſhe obſerved, during her whole life.

‡ That is, as "you would be to ſomebody whom you left this day."

my body, and ſaid, that ſome of his folks had ſeen you vexed; you may gueſs at the reſt.

I wrought this day till it was two o'clock upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thereof, which is coupled underneath with two cords. I have had ſo little time that it is ill made; but I ſhall make one fairer. In the mean time take heed none that is here ſee it, for all the world will know it, becauſe for haſte it was made in their preſence.

I am now paſſing to my vexing buſineſs. You make me diſſemble ſo far, that I have horror thereat; and you cauſe me do almoſt the office of a traitreſs. Remember how, if it were not to obey you, I had rather be dead before I did it; my heart bleeds at it. Briefly, he will not come with me, except upon condition that I will promiſe to him, that I ſhall be at bed and board with him as of before*, and that I ſhall leave

* That ſhe had ever been averſe to live with him, has no foundation in hiſtory. The contrary is well known, that he would not live with her. He had juſt abſented himſelf from her contrary to her inclination for above four months, a few days only excepted. In the end of September 1566, when he planned a voyage to foreign parts, and when ſhe in an affectionate manner preſſed him to declare if ſhe had given any occaſion for ſuch a reſolution, he acknowledged ſhe had given none; and yet he left her, and ſaid, "You ſhall not ſee my face for a long ſpace." Although ſhe lay at the point of death in the end of October, he only viſited her for one night. Even upon the baptiſm of his ſon, in the

him not afterwards; and doing this upon my word, he will do all things that I pleaſe, and come with me. But he has prayed me to remain for him till the morning after next.

He ſpake very bravely at the beginning, as this bearer will ſhew you, upon the ſubject of the Engliſhmen and of his departing: But in the end he returned again to his humility.

He ſhewed, among other things, that he knew well enough, that my brother had ſhewn me that thing which he had ſpoken in Stirling, of the which he denies the one half, and above all, that ever he came in his chamber. For to make him truſt me, it behoved me to feign in ſome things with him: Therefore, when he requeſted me to promiſe unto him, that when he was well we ſhould have both one bed, I ſaid to him feigningly, and pretending to believe his promiſes, that if he changed not (*his*) reſolution between this and that time, I would be content therewith: But in the mean time I bade him take heed, that he let no body know thereof, becauſe, to ſpeak among ourſelves, the Lords could not be offended, nor incline

the middle of December, he ſullenly kept his chamber, and on the 27th ſet out for Glaſgow, without taking leave o her. For Darnly now to make it a condition, that thf Queen ſhould live with him as *formerly*, is moſt ridiculoue The intention here, is to throw odium upon the Queen. s,

incline evil (*againſt us*) on that account; but they would fear in reſpect of the threatening he made them, that if ever we agreed together, he ſhould make them know the little count (*notice*) they took of him; and that he counſelled me not to purchaſe ſome of them without him. They for this cauſe would be in jealouſy, if at once, without their knowledge, I ſhould break the play, and ſet up in the contrary in their preſence.

He ſaid very joyfully, and think you they will eſteem you the more for that? But I am very glad that you ſpeak to me of the Lords; for I believe at this time you deſire that we ſhould live together in quietneſs; for if it were otherwiſe, greater inconvenience might come to us both than we are aware of: But now I will do whatever you will do, and will love all that you love; and deſire you to make them love in like manner: For, ſeeing they ſeek not my life, I love them all equally. Upon this point, this bearer will ſhew you many ſmall things. Becauſe I have over much to write, and it is late; I give truſt unto him upon your word. Briefly, he (*Darnly*) will go upon my word to all places.

Alas! I never deceived any-body: But I ſubmit myſelf altogether to your will. Send me advertiſement what I ſhall do, and whatſoever thing ſhall come thereof, I ſhall obey you. Adviſe too with yourſelf, if you can

find out any more ſecret invention by medicine; for he ſhould take medicine and the bath at Craigmillar. He cannot come out of the houſe this long time.

Briefly, by all that I can learn, he is in great ſuſpicion *, and yet notwithſtanding, he gives credit to my word; but yet not ſo far that he will ſhew any thing to me: But nevertheleſs I ſhall draw it out of him, if you will that I avow all unto him †. But I will never rejoice to deceive any body that truſts in me: Yet, notwithſtanding, you may command me in all things. Have no evil opinion of me for that cauſe, by reaſon you are the occaſion of it yourſelf; becauſe, for my own particular revenge, I would not do it to him.

He gives me ſome checks about that ‡ which I fear (*he ſuſpects*), yea even in the quick. He ſays this far, that his faults were publiſhed: But there are (*perſons*) who commit

* Suſpicion of the Lords Murray, Bothwell, Lethington, &c.

† The meaning poſſibly is, That Darnly could be *drawn* to *ſhew* to the Queen *any* ſcheme of revenge or of hoſtility, he had been meditating againſt thoſe whom he here *greatly ſuſpected*; provided, ſhe, with a view to get the ſecret from him, would *deceive* him, (a thing ſhe did not *rejoice* in), and admit and *avow*, that there were really (which was not true), grounds for that ſuſpicion.

‡ The adultery.

mit faults, who believe they will never be ſpoken of; and yet they will ſpeak of great and ſmall *. As to the Lady Reres, he ſaid, I pray God that ſhe may ſerve you for your honour: And ſaid, it is thought, and he believes it to be true, that I have not the power of myſelf unto myſelf, and that becauſe of the refuſal I made of his offers †. Briefly, for certain he ſuſpects of the thing you know and of his life. But as to the laſt, how ſoon that I ſpeak two or three good words unto him, he rejoices, and is out of doubt.

I ſaw him not this evening for to end your bracelet, to the which I can get no locks ‡. It

* Alluding, it ſhould ſeem, to the Queen herſelf.

† His offers, we know nothing of. What hiſtory relates, is, that he made a complaint, that the Queen and the nobility had diſcarded him.

‡ That there ſhould be a downright contradiction, upon a matter of fact, between this paſſage, which ſays there were no locks; and another above, written on the very ſame evening, which ſays, "I wrought this day till it was two o'clock upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thereof," which ſeems to imply that there was a lock, is incredible, whether it was the Queen, Lethington, or any other perſon who wrote ſuch an able letter as this; as that would argue, not careleſsneſs only, which might happen, but abſolute ſtupidity which cannot be conceived. Poſſibly the two paſſages may be thus reconciled. The intention of the Queen was to end the bracelet in the forenoon; and hence ſhe wrought long, even till two o'clock in the afternoon, to get at the laſt part

It is ready except them (*the locks*): And yet I fear that it will bring ſome misfortune, and may be ſeen if you chance to be hurt. Advertiſe me if you will have it, and if you will have more money, and when I ſhall return, and how far I may ſpeak. He is enraged when he hears of Lethington, or of you, or of my brother. Of your brother, (*brother-in-law Huntley*), he ſpeaks nothing. He ſpeaks of the Earl of Argyle. I am in fear when I hear him ſpeak; for he aſſures himſelf that he (*Argyle*) has not an evil opinion of him. He ſpeaks nothing of them who are out * (*baniſhed*), neither good nor evil, but flies that point. His father keeps his chamber, I have not ſeen him.

All

part of the taſk, the putting of the key into the lock, but all ſhe could accompliſh, was to join the key (not the lock) with cords to the bracelet. From this, it appears, ſhe had the key; but by no means that ſhe had the locks. And, in this view, the Latin tranſlator ſeems to have underſtood the affair; for he mentions only the key (*clavis*), not the lock (*ſera*), in the forenoon's part of the buſineſs. In the evening, the Queen reſumed her work upon the bracelet, and actually ended it; but could get no locks. From what reaſon this happened, ſhe does not explain.

* Morton and his accomplices, who had been baniſhed for the murder of Rizio, were pardoned and reſtored in December 1566, a month before the date of this letter. It is almoſt impoſſible that the Queen could have forgotten a fact of this kind, and have ſpoken of them as *ſtill* in baniſhment. We can more eaſily conceive that this might eſcape the memory of a forger, writing near a twelvemonth after the pardon.

All the Hamiltons are here who accompany me very honourably. All the friends of the other (*the King*) convoy me, when I go to ſee him. He deſires me to come and ſee him riſe to-morrow betimes. For to make ſhort, this bearer will tell you the reſt. And if I learn any thing here, I will make you memorial at even *. He will tell you the occaſion of my remaining Burn this letter, for it is over dangerous, and nothing well ſaid in it; for I am thinking upon nothing but vexation. If you be in Edinburgh at the receipt of it, ſend me word ſoon.

Be not offended, for I give not over great credit. Now ſeeing to obey you, my dear love, I ſpare neither honour, conſcience, hazard, nor greatneſs whatſoever; take it, I pray you, in good part, and not after the interpretation of your falſe brother-in-law, to whom I pray you, give no credit againſt the moſt faithful lover that ever you had, or ever ſhall have.

See not her whoſe feigned tears ſhould not be ſo much praiſed nor eſteemed, as the true and faithful travels which I ſuſtain for to merit her place. For obtaining of the which, againſt my natural (*diſpoſition*), I betray them who may oppoſe me. God forgive me, and God give you, my only love, the happineſs and proſperity which your

* A memorandum is accordingly ſubjoined to this letter.

your humble and faithful love deſires unto you, who hopes to be ſhortly another thing to you, for the reward of my irkſome travels.

It is late; I deſire never to ceaſe from writing unto you; yet now, after the kiſſing of your hands, I will end my letter. Excuſe my ill writing, and read it twice over. Excuſe that thing that is ſcribbled, for I had no paper yeſterday, when I wrote that of the memorial. Remember upon your love, and write unto her, and that very oft. Love me as I ſhall do you.

Remember the ſubject of the Lady Reres.
Of the Engliſhmen.
Of his (*the King's*) mother.
Of the Earl of Argyle.
Of the Earl of Bothwell †.
Of the lodging in Edinburgh.

LETTER II.

It appears, that with your abſence there is alſo joined forgetfulneſs, ſeeing that at your departing you promiſed to make me advertiſement of your news from time to time. The waiting upon them yeſterday, cauſed me to be almoſt in ſuch joy as I will be at

† To make the Queen ſpeak of Bothwell in the third perſon, as if the letter were not to *him*, was very artful.

at your returning, which you have delayed longer than your promiſe was.

As to me, notwithſtanding I have no farther news from you, according to my commiſſion, I bring the man (*the King*) with me to Craigmillar upon Monday, where he will be all Wedneſday; and I will go to Edinburgh to get blood let, if in the mean time, I get no news to the contrary from you.

He is more gay than ever you ſaw him; he puts me in rememberance of all things that may make me believe he loves me. In ſhort, you will ſay that he makes love to me: Of the which I take ſo great pleaſure *, that I never enter where he is, but immediately I take the ſickneſs of my ſore ſide †, I am ſo troubled with it (*his love*). If Paris bring me that which I ſent him for, I truſt it ſhall amend me.

I pray you, advertiſe me of your news at length, and what I ſhall do in caſe you be not returned when I am come there; for in caſe you work not wiſely, I ſee that the whole

* Speaking ironically.

† We learn that the Queen, upon occaſions of perplexity and ſorrow, was liable to a pain in her ſide. It was exceedingly ſportive, and not at all unnatural to a lively mind ſuch as her's was, to make her ſay ſhe was in this afflicting condition in the preſent circumſtances. Perhaps this paſſage is among the happieſt pieces of the whole forgery.

whole burden of this will fall upon my ſhoulders. Provide for all things, and diſcourſe upon it firſt with yourſelf. I ſend this by Betoun who goes to a court-day of the Laird of Balfour. I will ſay no farther, ſaving that I pray you to ſend me good news of your journey. From Glaſgow this Saturday in the morning.

LETTER III.

I HAVE waked later there up * than I would have done, if it had not been to draw ſomething out of him, which this bearer will ſhew you; which is the faireſt occaſion that can be offered to excuſe your affairs. I have promiſed to bring him (*the bearer*) to him (*the King*) to-morrow. Give orders about it, if you find it good.

Now, Sir, I have broken my promiſe †; becauſe you commanded me neither to write nor

* If this refer to an apartment *above*, in which ſhe had been waking with the King, it ſhould ſeem, that ſhe lodged in the ſame houſe with him; and this may have been ſo, notwithſtanding that in a former letter ſhe had ſaid, ſhe was *convoyed* when ſhe went to ſee him; for the houſe might conſiſt of diviſions and wings ſeparate from each other. Yet poſſibly, *wake up*, was uſed in thoſe times in the ſame ſenſe as *ſit up* now; importing only, the not going to bed; without any reference to an apartment above; and in this ſenſe Buchanan tranſlated the paſſage into Latin.

† That is, My promiſe to obey all your commands. It ſhould ſeem that he had in a letter, which ſhe juſt then received,

nor ſend unto you. Yet I have not done this to offend you. And if you knew the fear that I have preſently (*of your fidelity to your wife*), you would not have ſo many contrary ſuſpicions (*of my fidelity to you*), in your thought; which notwithſtanding I treat and cheriſh, as proceeding from the thing in the world which I moſt deſire, and ſeek faſteſt to have, which is your good grace; of the which my behaviour ſhall aſſure me. As to me, I ſhall never deſpair of it; and (*I*) pray you, according to your promiſe, to diſcharge your heart, (*unload your ſuſpicions*) unto me; otherwiſe I will think that my evil fate, and the good handling (*artful management*) of her (*your wife*) who has not the third part of the faithful, nor willing obedience unto you that I bear, has won, againſt my will, that advantage over me, which the ſecond love (*Creuſa*) of Jaſon won*: Not that I will compare you unto one ſo unhappy as he was, nor yet myſelf to one ſo unpitiful a woman (*Medea his firſt love*) as ſhe: Although you cauſe

received, and poſterior to the writing of her former two letters, commanded her neither to write, nor to ſend to him any more at that time, as they were ſo ſoon to meet. But, the ſuſpicions which he diſcovered in that letter, with reſpect to her fidelity to him, made her, in this particular, break her promiſe.

* Jaſon having deſerted his firſt wife Medea, married Creuſa; upon which Medea tranſported with rage, ſent a box to her rival containing fire, by which ſhe was burnt to death upon opening it.

cauſe me to be ſomething like unto her *(the jealous Medea)* in any thing that reſpects you, or that may preſerve and keep you unto her *(myſelf)* to whom only you appertain; if it be ſo that I may appropriate that which is won through faithful, yea, only loving of you, as I do, and ſhall do all the days of my life, notwithſtanding pain or evil that can come from it. In recompence of the which, and of all the evils which you have been cauſe of to me †, remember the place here beſide.

I crave not that you keep promiſe to me to-morrow; but that we may meet together, and that you give no faith to ſuſpicions without the certainty of them. And I crave no other thing of God, but that you may know that thing which is in my heart, which is yours; and that he may preſerve you from all evil, at the leaſt, ſo long as I have life; which I repute not precious unto me, except in ſo far as it and I both are agreeable unto you. I am going to bed, and will bid you good night. Advertiſe me timely in the morning how you fare; for I will be in pain till I get word. Make good watch. If the bird (*myſelf*) eſcape out of the cage

(*of*

† The Queen here may be conceived to refer to the jealouſy that was entertained by the King, with reſpect to Bothwell and herſelf; and to her ſufferings on that account. When ſhe bids Bothwell, "remember the *place*, (that is the *perſon*), here beſide," ſhe points at the deſired deliverance.

(*of Darnly*), or without her mate (*yourſelf*), as the turtle I ſhall remain alone for to lament the abſence, how ſhort that ſoever it be. This letter will do (*ſalute you*) with a good heart, that thing which I cannot do myſelf, if it be not that I have fear that you are aſleep. I durſt not write this before Joſeph, Baſtian and Joachim, who departed only even when I began to write.

LETTER IV.

My heart alas! Muſt the folly of a woman * whoſe unthankfulneſs towards me you do ſufficiently know, be occaſion of diſplea-

* The woman is conjectured to be one Margaret Carwood, a gentlewoman of the Queen's; and to have been got with child by Baſtian, one of her gentlemen; at whoſe marriage together, about two weeks afterward, on the night of the King's murder, the Queen gave a banquet and maſque at Holyrood-houſe. Why Bothwell was diſpleaſed with the woman for being with child by Baſtian, is not eaſily to be diſcovered. If indeed, we ſuppoſe, that her folly conſiſted not in this, but in having, perhaps, given out (what ſhe might think to be an honour), that ſhe was with child by Bothwell himſelf, (a thing not unlikely from his character, and from her being much, as appears from hiſtory, in his way), this, whether true or not, might be more calculated, at leaſt, to excite his diſpleaſure. If this were ſo, we can underſtand the Queen's backwardneſs to tell him of ſuch a ſcandal, and that it was communicated to him by ſome other body.—This is another inſtance of great ingenuity in the forger.

ſure unto you, conſidering that I could not have remedied it (*the ſcandal*) without knowing it? And ſince that I perceived it, I could not tell it you, becauſe I knew not how to govern myſelf in it; for neither in that, nor in any other thing, will I take upon me to do any thing without knowledge of your will, which I beſeech you to let me underſtand; for I will follow it all my life, more willingly than you ſhall declare it to me: And if you do not ſend me word this night what you will that I ſhall do, I will rid myſelf of it *, and hazard to cauſe it to be enterprized and taken in hand, which might be hurtful † to that (*thing*) to which both we do tend. And when ‡ ſhe ſhall be married, I beſeech you to give me one, or elſe I will take ſuch (*yourſelf*) as ſhall content you as to their conditions (*qualities*); but

* By forcing Baſtian, however hazardous the attempt, to marry the woman.

† If Baſtian, on account of being compelled to marriage, ſhould refuſe his aid in murdering the King.

‡ The meaning ſeems to be, that the night of Carwood's getting a huſband, was fixed for the murder of the King; upon which event, the Queen alſo, would be left in a ſituation that admitted of *one*,—that is, of a huſband too.

but as for their tongues or faithfulneſs towards you, I will not anſwer *.

I beſeech you that an opinion of other (*another*) perſon (*Lady Bothwell*), be not hurtful in your mind to my conſtancy. Miſtruſt me (*you may*); but when I will put you out of doubt and clear myſelf, refuſe it not, my dear love, and ſuffer me to make you ſome proof by my obedience, my faithfulneſs, conſtancy, and voluntary ſubjection, which I take for the pleaſanteſt good that I might receive, if you will accept it, and make no ceremony at it; for you could do me no greater outrage, nor give more mortal grief.

NUMBER SECOND.

The Letters ſaid to have been written by Queen Mary to Bothwell, from Stirling.

None of theſe letters have any date. We are left to find out their chronology from Murray's Journal, and from the letters themſelves, in like manner as we did, with reſpect to the letters from Glaſgow.

According to Murray's Journal, the Queen, on Monday April 21. 1567 went from Edin-

* This ſeems to refer to the danger of Bothwell's being betrayed by the domeſtics who were to be employed in the murder.

burgh to Stirling; and from thence wrote the four following letters. She remained at Stirling all the 22d. On the 23d ſhe ſet out for Linlithgow. On the 24th in the morning ſhe ſent Huntly to Bothwell who met her on the way near Linlithgow; ſeemed to raviſh (*ſeize*) her; and led her to Dunbar.

From ſeveral paſſages in the letters themſelves, the chronology appears to be very different. It ſhould ſeem that the Queen had arrived at Stirling ſo early as Tueſday the 15th. After ſhe came thither, ſhe expected that Bothwell, 'according to his promiſe, 'would write her word every day what ſhe 'ſhould do.' We may conceive, that ſhe would wait two days the 16th and 17th, and part of the 18th in this expectation; and that at laſt, ſhe wrote on the night of the 18th her firſt letter. The time ſhe waited could not be well leſs; as ſhe ſpeaks expreſsly of her being diſappointed day after day; and reproaches him with his negligence, and with the power that abſence had over him. On the morning of the 19th ſhe diſpatched her letter; and the anſwer from Bothwell, which as it contained ſome material explanations, and as the diſtance from Edinburgh to Stirling is thirty-ſix miles, could not well arrive before the evening of the 20th. Early on the 21ſt at ſooneſt, ſhe wrote her ſecond letter. On a later part of the 21ſt ſhe wrote her third letter; and Huntly at the ſame time,

time, wrote alſo to Bothwell. The anſwers to both cannot be ſuppoſed to have come ſooner than the evening of the 22d. On the 22d or on the 23d, ſhe wrote her fourth and laſt letter.

Thus by Murray's Journal, the Queen was only in Stirling, one evening, the next whole day, and the following morning. By the letters themſelves, ſhe was, at the very leaſt, one evening, ſeven whole days, and one morning.

LETTER I.

Alas! my Lord, why is your truſt put in a perſon (*myſelf*) ſo unworthy, to miſtruſt that which is wholly your's? I am diſtracted. You had promiſed me, that you would reſolve *(ſettle)* all, and that you would ſend me word every day what I ſhould do. You have done nothing of this. I adverti ſed you well to take heed of your falſe brother-in-law: he came to me, and without ſhewing me any thing (*token or credential*) from you, told me that you had willed him to write to you what I ſhould ſay, and where and when you ſhould come to me, and that which you ſhould do touching him*; and there-

* It was proper that ſomething ſhould be done to ſave Huntly's honour, as commander of the Queen's guard, upon the event of his ſuffering her to be ſeized.

upon has preached unto me that it was a fooliſh enterprize *, and that with mine honour I could never marry you, ſeeing that † being married (*yourſelf*) you did carry me away, and that his folks would not ſuffer it, and that the Lords would unſay themſelves, and would deny that (*which*) they had ſaid ‡. To be ſhort, he is all contrary. I told him, that ſeeing I was come ſo far, if you did not withdraw yourſelf of yourſelf, that no perſuaſion, nor death itſelf, ſhould make me fail of my promiſe.

As touching the place, you are too negligent, pardon me, to refer yourſelf in this unto

* Not that Huntly was againſt the enterprize of marriage, but that he was againſt the projected mode and circumſtances of it, by a ſeizure, and eſpecially before Bothwell was divorced from his then wife.

† That is, "ſeeing that thing, would amount to this, that being yourſelf married, you did carry me away."

‡ Moſt part of the Lords and Councillors of Scotland, on the night of April 19, only two nights before this letter was written, had entered into a bond of aſſociation, recommending Bothwell to the Queen for a huſband, and binding themſelves to ſupport the marriage with their lives and properties. It ſhould ſeem that no idea was entertained by them of a *ſeizure* of the Queen's perſon being proper; and alſo, that it was underſtood, that Bothwell before taking any farther ſtep whatever, ſhould be divorced from his wife. Huntly, therefore, had reaſon to inſinuate that the Lords might be ſo far diſpleaſed and ſhocked at the Queen's being *ſeized*, and by Bothwell, ſtill a married man, as to retract from the engagement they had entered into.

unto me. Chooſe it yourſelf, and ſend me word of it, and in the mean time (*as*) I am ſick, I will defer (*my return*), becauſe, touching the matter (*of chooſing the place, &c.*) it is too late (*if I ſhould return juſt now*). It was not my fault that you have not thought upon it in time. And if you had not more changed your mind ſince my abſence, than I have, you ſhould not be now to aſk ſuch a ſettling. Well, there wants nothing upon my part, and ſeeing that your negligence does put us both in the danger of a falſe brother, if it ſucceed not well, I will never riſe again (*from my ſickneſs*).

I ſend this bearer unto you, for I dare not truſt your brother with theſe letters, nor with the diligence (*ſpeed requiſite to be made*). He ſhall tell you in what ſtate (*of health*) I am, and judge you what amendment (*of it*) theſe new ceremonies (*difficulties about ſettling*) have brought unto me. I would I were dead *, for I ſee all goes ill. You promiſed a different kind of thing of your fore-ſeeing

* The Queen had *really* expreſſed herſelf in theſe memorable words, "I could wiſh to be dead," at Craigmillar, while the King was alive; and when ſhe was plunged in the deepeſt diſtreſs on account of his conduct to her. The intention in uſing now, words which actually had been uſed before, was to give a ſtamp of conſiſtency and authenticity. But the two occaſions were very different; and the preſent one, comparatively ſo ſlight, cannot juſtify ſuch a tragical expreſſion.

(*which you thought would happen*), but abſence has power over you, who have two ſtrings to your bow *. Diſpatch the anſwer that I fail not (*in the part I am to act*), and put no truſt in your brother for this enterprize; for he has told it, and is alſo all againſt it. God give you good night.

LETTER II.

Of the place and time, I refer myſelf to your brother † and to you. I will follow him, and will fail in nothing of my part. He finds many difficulties; I think he does advertiſe you of them, and what he deſires for the conducting of himſelf (*ſo as to ſave his honour*). As for the conducting of myſelf, I heard it once well deviſed ‡.

Methinks that your ſervices (*to the Crown*), and the long amity (*of the Crown to you*); (*your*) having (*alſo*) the good will of the Lords,

* The Queen and his own wife at once to attend to.

† It ſhould ſeem that the Queen had by this time received a letter from Bothwell, and which had given her an opinion of Huntly almoſt entirely different from that which ſhe expreſſed in Letter 1.

‡ From this we are to underſtand, that although the place and time were not hitherto ſettled, yet that the part which the Queen ſhould act at the ſeizure, had been laid out to her ſatisfaction, before ſhe came to Stirling.

Lords, do well deſerve a pardon, if above the duty of a ſubject you, (*by the ſeizure*) advance yourſelf, not (*thereby*) to conſtrain me *, but (*thereby*) to aſſure yourſelf of ſuch place near unto me, that the admonitions of others or foreign perſuaſions may not hinder me from conſenting to that, which you hope your ſervice ſhall make you one day to attain: and, to be ſhort, (*thereby alſo*), to make yourſelf ſure of the Lords (*from the proſpect of your future exaltation*) and free to marry (*me, in conſequence of a divorce from your wife*); and (*you may add alſo*) that you are conſtrained for your ſafety, and to be able to ſerve me faithfully, to uſe an humble requeſt (*of marriage*) joined to, (*poſterior to*) an importune action (*of ſeizure*) †.

And,

* The pretence to be given out for the outrageous treaſon of a ſeizure, was not to conſtrain the Queen to marry him, but merely *to ſecure a place near her!* on purpoſe that his enemies might not have an opportunity (he being ſo near) to undermine his credit with her, and deprive him of the well-earned reward of his ſervices.

† The pretence for the ſeizure has been juſt mentioned. The purpoſe aſſigned here, for having recourſe, after ſuch a violent action, to the farce of *an humble requeſt that the Queen ſhould marry him!* was to counteract the impreſſion made by the ſeizure; hence enſure his ſafety, which might be endangered by ſuch a deed, and by conſequence alſo, enable him to ſerve the Queen more *effectually*. The word in the text is *faithfully*, and in Letter iv. *honourably*; but perhaps the import of both, is an *effectual* ſervice.

And, to be ſhort, excuſe yourſelf (*after the ſeizure*), and perſuade them (*the Lords*) the moſt you can, that you are conſtrained to make purſuit againſt your enemies *. You will have enough to ſay, if the matter or ground do pleaſe you; and many fair words to Lethington †. If you like not the deed (*the ſeizure*), ſend me word, and leave not the blame of all (*the project of ſeizure*) unto me.

LETTER III.

My Lord, ſince the letter which I wrote, your brother-in-law that was ‡, came to me very ſad, and has aſked my counſel, what he ſhould do after to-morrow ‖, becauſe there

* The enemies pointed at here, ſeem to be Murray and his faction. If ſo, there is given a broad hint, that they were doomed to deſtruction. And hence, a plea furniſhed by it, for their taking arms, as they did.

† If the letter be forged by Lethington himſelf, we have an admirable inſtance of his art, in taking an opportunity, *en paſſant*, to ſet himſelf off. Be ſure, ſaid the Queen, that you uſe many fair words to Lethington, that ſteady upright man! whom it will be more difficult to gain over from what he thinks his duty, than all our other enemies.

‡ The Queen here ſpeaks by anticipation; as the divorce was not yet obtained.

‖ The day after to-morrow, was Thurſday April 24, the actual day of the ſeizure.

there be many folks here, and among others the Earl of Sutherland, who would rather die, conſidering the good they have ſo lately received of me *, than ſuffer me to be carried away, they conducting me; and that he feared there ſhould ſome trouble happen of it; of the other ſide (*otherwiſe*), that it ſhould be ſaid that he were unthankful to have betrayed me†. I told him, that he ſhould have ſettled with you upon all that, and that he ſhould avoid, if he could, thoſe who were moſt miſtruſted.

He has reſolved to write about this to you by my opinion; for he has aſtoniſhed me to ſee him ſo unreſolved at the (*time of*) need. I aſſure myſelf he will play the part of an honeſt man: but I have thought good to advertiſe you of the fear he has, that he ſhould be charged and accuſed of treaſon, to the end that, without miſtruſting him, you may be the more circumſpect, and that you may have the more power (*greater numberof forces*). For we had yeſterday more than three hundred

* Huntly and his friends, of whom Sutherland was one, had been attainted, but the forfeiture was taken off ſo lately as April 19.

† That is, he feared it would be neceſſary, that there ſhould ſome ſtruggle happen at the ſeizure; otherwiſe (if there were no ſtruggle made on his part,) he feared that it ſhould be ſaid he were unthankful, &c.

dred horſe of his and of Livingſton's*. For the honour of God, be accompanied rather with more than leſs; for that is the principal (*part*) of my caſe.

I go to write my diſpatch†, and pray God to ſend us a happy interview ſhortly. I write in haſte, to the end you may be adviſed in time.

LETTER IV.

My Lord, if the diſpleaſure (*ſadneſs*) occaſioned by your abſence, by your forgetfulneſs, (*and*) the fear of danger ſo threatened by every one to your ſo loved perſon, may give me conſolation, I leave it to you to judge: as you ſee the ill fate which my cruel lot and continual miſadventure has hitherto threatened me, following the misfortunes and fears, as well of late, as of a long time by-paſt, the which you do know.

But

* Although it is a doubtful point if there were ſo many horſe, the Queen herſelf having ſaid in a letter to her ambaſſador in France, that ſhe went *ſecretly* to Stirling, and Crawford's Memoirs having ſaid, that ſhe was but *ſlightly* guarded from Stirling to Edinburgh, yet it was artful to make the Queen magnify the number, on purpoſe to induce Bothwell to bring a great force with him; and in fact he brought 800, and according to ſome, 1000 horſe.

† Probably ſome daily or periodical diſpatch, that ſhe was in uſe to ſend off in the courſe of public buſineſs.

But for all that, I will in nowiſe accuſe you, neither of your little remembrance, neither of your little care, and leaſt of all of your promiſe broken, or of the coldneſs of your writing, ſeeing I am in other reſpects ſo far made your's, that that which pleaſes you is acceptable to me; and my thoughts are ſo willingly ſubjected unto your's, that I ſuppoſe that all that you think and do, proceeds not from any of the cauſes foreſaid, but rather from ſuch as are juſt and reaſonable, and ſuch as I deſire myſelf, which is, the final reſolution which you promiſed to take for the ſafety and honourable ſervice of the only ſupport (*yourſelf*) of my life. For which (*ſupport*) alone I will preſerve the ſame (*my life*), and without the which, I deſire nothing but ſudden death.

And to teſtify unto you how lowly I ſubmit myſelf to your commandments, I have ſent you, in ſign of homage, by Paris, the ornament (*hair*) of the head, which (*the head*) is the chief good of the other members; intimating thereby, that by the ſeiſing* of you in the poſſeſſion of the ſpoil (*the hair*) of that which is (*the*) principal, the remnant cannot

* By *Seiſin* in law, is meant the giving poſſeſſion of a whole property or right, by the delivering of a part of it, or of a ſymbol. The Queen is here made to diſcover a knowledge in law; and which there is ground to conceive ſhe might poſſeſs.

cannot be but ſubject unto you, and (*that*) with (*the*) conſenting of the heart. In place of which (*the heart*), ſince I have elſewhere left it unto you, I ſend unto you a ſepulchre of hard-ſtone, coloured with black, (*and*) ſtrewed with tears and bones. The ſtone I compare to my heart, which (*ſtone*) as it is carved in (*the form of*) a ſure ſepulchre or harbour of your commandments, and, above all, of your name and memory which are therein incloſed, as is my hair in this ring, never to come forth *, till death grant unto you too, a trophy of victory (*made*) of my bones; ſo † (*on the other hand*) the ring is fulled (*made full of my hair*), in token that you have made a full conqueſt of me, of mine heart, and (*the conqueſt to continue*) until that my bones (*at death*) be left unto you in remembrance of your victory, and of my acceptable love (*my love which was acceptable to you*), and (*of my*) willing (*deſiring*), for to be better beſtowed (*in marriage*) than I merit ‡. The enameling that is about (*around the edge*) is

* That is, "Your name and memory never to come forth (or be eraſed) from my heart."

† I have taken the liberty to read *ſo* in place of *as*, which laſt is probably a blunder of the pen or preſs.

‡ The ſenſe of the whole paſſage above, ſeems to be this. The Queen ſent to Bothwell, a ring ornamented with a tranſparent ſtone tinged with black. The ſtone, ſhe ſaid, repreſented

is black, which ſignifies the ſtedfaſtneſs of her who ſends the ſame. The tears are without number, ſo are the fears to diſpleaſe you—the tears occaſioned by your abſence, by the diſdain

repreſented her heart; and was formed in the ſhape of a tomb-ſtone, with bones and tear-drops cut upon its ſurface. Underneath the ſtone, was incloſed a piece of parchment or other ſtuff, on which was wrought in her own hair, the name of Bothwell, and alſo love-ſentences, expreſſing her tender remembrance of him. The name and remembrance of Bothwell were thus incloſed and held captive by her heart, ſo long as ſhe lived. But in return for the captivity in which ſhe thus held Bothwell, ſhe herſelf, and her heart were held captive by him; in regard that his name and memory were the ſole ſubjects of the incloſed inſcription wrought in her hair; and which inſcription filling the whole incloſed ſpace, intimated his full conqueſt of her heart. The Queen and Bothwell thus mutually held each other captive. Her death was to ſet them both free. And Bothwell the ſurvivor, making his eſcape, was to have her bones as a trophy, in remembrance of this eſcape, (or victory as it is ſtiled,) and alſo of her love.

As the Queen was known to be very fond of devices, a love device was naturally to be expected in ſome of her letters to Bothwell, and would even furniſh an argument that the letter was her's. But the awkwardneſs and far-fetched conceit in this device, with reſpect to Bothwell's trophy, and the clumſineſs in the whole deſcription of the ring, betray the forgery. Lethington's genius, (if he were the forger) not being turned to ſuch matters, it ſeems probable, that he gave the taſk to ſome other perſon more converſant in them. What he wanted, was a device repreſenting that the Queen's love for Bothwell would continue *till her death*. How this could be executed, I will not pretend to ſay. But the perſon he employed, ſeems to have been unequal to the attempt. For the device he hit upon, imports much more naturally, that the Queen's love was to continue *after*, than *till* her death.

diſdain that I cannot be in outward effect your's, as I am (*inwardly*) without feignedneſs of heart and ſpirit; and with good reaſon, (*ſhould I feel diſdain*), though my merits were much greater than the moſt valuable thing that ever was, and ſuch as I deſire to be, and ſhall take pains in (*all different*) conditions to imitate, on purpoſe to be beſtowed (*in marriage*) worthily (*worthy of you*) under your regiment (*authority*).

My only wealth! receive therefore in as good part the ſame (*the ring*) as I have received your marriage (*marriage-contract*) with extreme joy, the which ſhall not come out of my boſom, till that marriage of our bodies be made in public, as a ſign of all that I either hope or deſire of bliſs in this world.

Yet my heart fearing to diſpleaſe you as much in the reading of this, as I delight myſelf in the writing, I will end; after that I have kiſſed your hands with as great affection, as I pray God to give you long and bleſſed life, and to me your good favour, as the only good which I deſire, and to the which I pretend.

I have ſhewn unto this bearer that which I have learned, to whom I refer, knowing the credit that you gave him, as ſhe does (*give*), who will be forever unto you (*an*) humble and obedient lawful wife, who forever dedicates unto you her heart, her body,

without

without any change, as unto him whom I have made poſſeſſor of (*my*) heart; of which you may hold you aſſured, that until death (*it*) ſhall nowiſe be changed, for evil nor good ſhall never make me go from it (*this reſolution*).

NUMBER THIRD.

THE SONNETS.

These have no date of place or time; nor is there any mention made of them in Murray's journal, which comes down to May 15. 1568*.

The period between the ſeizure of the Queen by Bothwell, on April 24. 1567, and her capture by the Rebels at Carberry-hill, on the 15th June, is generally conſidered to have been that within which the Sonnets were written; but we know of no ſpace of time, during that period in which the Queen and Bothwell were abſent from each other, (and abſence is even expreſſed in the Sonnets themſelves), unleſs three or four days from

* Anderſon, II. 217.

the 7th to the 11th June, when the Queen was left alone at Borthwick-Caſtle. But before that time, and poſterior to the marriage, the Queen was in a ſtate of deſpair*, on account of Bothwell's brutality to her; and it is inconceivable that ſhe could have then written the frantic love-ſonnets

Her enemies have written confuſedly upon this point. According to Buchanan, "the Sonnets were written to Bothwell before her marriage with him, and as it is ſaid, while her huſband lived; but certainly before Bothwell's divorce from his wife, as the words themſelves ſhew†."

We find no trace in the Sonnets themſelves, of their being compoſed before the death of Darnly: The contrary may be inferred from Sonnet ſecond. But there are undoubted intimations in Sonnet third, of their being prior to Bothwell's divorce from his wife; and alſo expreſſions, which lead us to conceive, that they were prior to any thoughts of divorce on the part of his wife. This would carry their date back perhaps to the month of March 1567; as the proceſs of divorce began only in the end of April‡.

At

* Melvill, 18. † Anderſon, II. 115.

‡ According to Buchanan and the Rebel Journal on April 26th and 27th. Anderſon, II. 96. and 275. According to the ſentences of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, on April 27. and 29. Principal Robertſon, II. 438, 439.

At the ſame time, there are ſtill more manifeſt internal proofs that the Sonnets were compoſed much later. In Sonnet fourth there is alluſion to the reſtoration of Huntly on April 19. In Sonnet ninth, an alluſion to the rape, which was poſterior to April 24th; and a memorable declaration put into the mouth of Queen Mary, that at that period Bothwell had not her heart; which proves to demonſtration, that there is an inconſiſtency between the Letters and Contracts on the one hand, and the Sonnets on the other. It ſeems to follow alſo from Sonnet ninth, that the Sonnets could not have been written till ſeveral days, at leaſt, after the rape; in order to admit of a tranſition from the moſt oppoſite of all paſſions, Averſion and Love.

This oppoſition of dates in the ſame Sonnets, might be explained, could we ſuppoſe, that they were ſeparate Sonnets; written and ſent at different times. But the enemies of the Queen give no hint of this themſelves; the ſeveral Sonnets or diviſions, beſides, run into one another; and the laſt one appears to be a concluſion of the whole. As they flatly contradict the Letters, we may believe that they were not written both by the ſame perſon. As they contradict themſelves in point of internal dates, we may believe they were haſtily compoſed; and that an eye was had to Queen Elizabeth's reſtraining any

minute examination into them. Indeed unleſs they were to be examined in the cloſet for days or perhaps weeks, eſpecially in another kingdom, it does not ſeem probable that the claſhing in chronology could be diſcovered. A public examination or rather reading of them in a Court, was by no means ſufficient; and the Commiſſioners and others in England, may not have ſeen the inconſiſtencies,

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I.

O Dieux, ayez de moi compaſſion,
Et m'enſeignez quelle preuve certaine
Je puis donner, qui ne lui ſemble vaine,
De mon amour et ferme affection.

Las n'eſt-il pas ja en poſſeſſion
Du corps *, du cœur, qui ne refuſe peine,
Ni diſhonneur en la vie incertaine,
Offence de parens, ni pire affliction?

Pour lui tous mes amis j'eſtime moins que rien,
Et de mes ennemis je veuz eſperer bien.

* "Du corps" refers to the rape, and which was poſterior to the ſeizure on April 24. "Du cœur" refers to his poſſeſſing the Queen's heart; and which, from ſonnet 9. line 3. muſt have been poſterior for ſeveral days at leaſt to the rape. This ſeems to carry the date of the ſonnets conſiderably down into the month of May.

cies, without the ſmalleſt impeachment againſt their fairneſs and honour.

All I have done by way of alteration has been to ſpell the the French original and the Scotch Tranſlation, both of which were publiſhed at the ſame time, as we now ſpell words in theſe languages; and to inſert, in parentheſis, either words which ſeemed neceſſary to be ſupplied for the ſenſe, or words that were intelligible, for others that were dark or obſolete.

I.

O Gods, have of me compaſſion
And ſhew what certain proof
I may give, which ſhall not ſeem to him vain,
Of my love and fervent † affection.

Alas! is he not already in poſſeſſion
Of my body of heart, which refuſes no pain
Nor diſhonour in the life uncertain,
Offence of friends, nor worſe affliction?

For him I eſteem all my friends leſs than nothing,
And I will have good hope of mine enemies,

† This and many other paſſages that follow, which the reader will not fail to remark, concur to ſhew that the ſonnets have been tranſlated into Scotch, from a French original, different from that in the text

J'ai hazardé pour lui et nom et conſcience ;
Je veux pour lui au monde renoncer ;
Je veux mourir pour le faire avancer :
Que reſte plus pour prouver ma conſtance ?

2.

Entre ſes mains, et en ſon plein pouvoir,
Je mets mon fils, mon honneur, et ma vie,
Mon païs. mes ſujets ; mon ame aſſujettie
Eſt toute à lui, et (*je*) n'ai autre vouloir.

Pour mon objet, que ſans le decevoir
Suivre je veux, malgré toute l'envie
Qu'iſſer (*ſortir*) en peut. Car je n'ai autre envie,
Que de ma foi lui faire appercevoir :

Que pour tempête, ou bonace, qu'il faſſe
Jamais ne veut changer demeure ou place.

Bref, je ferai de ma foi telle preuve,
Qu'il connoîtra, ſans faute, ma conſtance ;
Non par mes pleurs, ou feinte obeiſſance,
Comme autres font ‡, mais par diverſe epreuve.

3.

Elle, pour ſon honneur, vous doit obeïſſance :
Moi vous obeiſſant, j'en puis recevoir blâme,
N'étant, à mon regret, comme elle, votre femme ;
Et ſi (*elle*) n'aura pourtant en ce point preéminence.

‡ I have written *font* in place of *ſont*, to make ſenſe ; and to correſpond with *ferai* three lines above. *Sont* ſeems to be an error of the preſs.

I have put in hazard for him both fame and con-
I will for his ſake renounce the world, [ſcience.
I will die to ſet him forward:
What remains to give proof of my conſtancy?

2.

In his hands, and in his full power,
I put my ſon *, my honour and my life,
My country, my ſubjects; my ſoul all-ſubdued
(*Is devoted*) to him, and (*I*) have no other will.

For my ſcope (*aim*), which without deceit
I will follow, in ſpite of all envy
That may enſue. For I have no other deſire
But to make him perceive my faithfulneſs.

For ſtorm or fair weather that may come
Never will it change dwelling or place.

Shortly, I ſhall give of my truth, ſuch proof,
That he ſhall know my conſtancy without fiction.
Not by my weeping, or feigned obedience †
As others have done, but by other experience.

She for her honour owes you obedience
I in obeying you may receive diſhonour,
Not being, to my diſpleaſure, your wife, as ſhe;
And yet in this point ſhe ſhall have no preeminence.

* From this it ſhould ſeem that the ſonnets were compoſed poſterior to the King's death.

† From this and next ſonnet, they were compoſed prior to the divorce between Bothwell and his wife, (May 3—7.); after which all obedience was naturally withdrawn.

Pour ſon profit elle uſe de conſtance,
Car ce n'eſt peu d'honneur d'être de vos biens dame;
Et moi, pour vous aimer, j'en puis recevoir blâme,
Et ne lui veux ceder en toute l'obſervance.

Elle de votre mal, n'a l'apprehenſion;
Moi je n'ai nul repos, tant je crains l'apparence.
Par l'avis des parens elle eut votre accointance;
Moi, malgré tous les miens *, vous porte affection.

† * * * * * * * *
Et de ſa loiauté prenez ferme aſſurance.

4.

Par vous, mon cœur, et par votre alliance,
Elle a remiſe ſa maiſon en honneur;
Elle a joui par vous de la grandeur,
Dont tous les ſiens n'avoient nulle aſſurance.

De vous, mon bien, elle a eu la conſtance,
Et a gagnée pour un tems votre cœur,
Par vous elle a eu plaiſir en bonheur,
Et pour vous a receu honneur et reverence;

Et n'a perdu, ſinon la jouiſſance
D'un facheux ſot, qu'elle avoit cherement.
Je ne la plains d'aimer donc ardemment
Celui, qui n'a en ſens, ni en vaillance,

* The oppoſition between the French here, and the tranſlation, is very ſtriking. It proves that the tranſlation has been made from ſome other original than that in the text; and conſequently, that there have been more originals than one.

† This line is loſt in the original.

She uſes conſtancy for her own profit,
For it is no little honour to be miſtreſs of your goods:
And I for loving you may receive blame,
And will not be overcome by her in loyal obſervance.

She has no apprehenſion of your evil;
I fear ſo all apparent evil, that I can have no reſt.
She had your acquaintance by conſent of her friends;
I, againſt all their will (*mine*) have born you affection.

And not the leſs, my heart, you doubt of my conſtancy
And of her faithfulneſs you have firm aſſurance ‡.

4.

By you, my heart, and by your alliance,
She has reſtored her houſe unto honour;
By you ſhe is become to that greatneſs
Of which her friends had never aſſurance.

Of you, my wealth, ſhe got the acquaintance
And has conquered, the ſame time, your heart;
By you ſhe has pleaſure and good luck,
And by you has received honour and reverence;

And has not loſt, but the enjoyment
Of an unpleaſant fool, whom ſhe loved dearly.
Then I moan (*pity*) her not to love ardently
Him, who has none in wit, in manhood,

‡ It will be obſerved, that the ſhort ſtanza of two lines, which occupied the third place in the two former ſonnets, appears in this, and in ſome of the following, in the fourth. By this and other ſimilar devices, the compoſer either meant to break the uniformity of ſo long a poem; or rather perhaps intended to give an air of authenticity to it, by what might appear to have ariſen from caprice, accident, or the difficulty in aſſorting the rimes.

Ni en beauté en bonté, ni conſtance
Point de ſecond. Je vis en cette foi.

5.

Quand vous l'aimiez, elle uſoit de froideur,
Si vous ſouffriez pour s'amour paſſion,
Qui vient d'aimer de trop d'affection:
Son doigt * montroit la triſteſſe du cœur.

N'ayant plaiſir en votre grand ardeur,
En ſes habits, montroit ſans fiction,
Qu'elle n'avoit peur, qu'imperfection
Pût l'effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.

De votre mort je ne vis la peur
Que meritoit tel mari et ſeigneur

(*En*) ſomme, de vous elle a eu tout ſon bien;
Et n'a priſée, n'y jamais eſtimée
Un ſi grand heur, ſinon puis qu'il n'eſt ſien;
Et maintenant dit l'avoir tant aimée.

6.

Et maintenant elle commence à voir,
Qu'elle étoit bien de mauvais jugement,
De n'eſtimer l'amour d'un tel amant;
Et voudroit bien mon ami decevoir;

Par les ecrits tous fardés de ſcavoir,
Que pourtant n'eſt en ſon eſprit croiſſant,
Ains emprunté de quelque auteur luiſant,
(*Elle*) a feinte tres bien un envoy ſans l'avoir.

* That is, ſhe demonſtrated as clearly, as if ſhe had pointed it out by her finger, that her heart was inſenſible to love; and even that this inſenſibility was carried to a degree of apparent ſadneſs. *Montrer au doigt*, ſignifies, to point out with the finger.

In beauty, in bounty, in truth, nor in conſtancy,
Any ſecond: I live in the (*this*) belief,

5.

When you loved her, ſhe uſed coldneſs,
If (*yet*) you ſuffered for her love (*a*) paſſion
Which comes to (*from*) great affection of love:
Her ſadneſs (*finger*) ſhewed the ſadneſs of her heart.

Taking no pleaſure of your vehement burning,
In her clothing † (*behaviour*) ſhe ſhewed unfeigned-
That ſhe had no fear that imperfection [ly
Could deface (*efface*) her out of that true heart.

I did not ſee in her the fear of your death,
That was worthy of ſuch huſband and lord.

Shortly, ſhe has of you all her wealth;
And has never weighed nor eſteemed
A ſo great hap, but ſince it was not hers;
And now ſhe ſays that ſhe loves him ſo well.

6.

And now ſhe begins to ſee,
That ſhe was of very evil judgment
Not to eſteem the love of ſuch a lover,
And would fain deceive my love

By writings and painted learning,
Which not the leſs did not breed in her brain,
But borrowed from ſome modiſh author.
To feign a ſturt (*trouble*) and have none.

† From this we ſee how lame a tranſlator had been employed in this work.

Et toutefois ſes paroles fardées
Ses pleurs, ſes plaintes, remplis de fictions
Et ſes hauts cris, et lamentations,
Ont tant gagné, que par vous ſont gardées.

Ses lettres écrites; auxquelles vous donnez foi
Et ſi l'aimez *, et croiez plus que moi.

7.

Vous la croyez, las! trop je l'apperçois
Et vous doutez de ma ferme conſtance,
O mon ſeul bien, et ma ſeule eſperance,
Et ne vous puis aſſurer de ma foi.

Vous m'eſtimez legere, qui (*ce que*) je vois,
Et ſi n'avez en moi nulle aſſurance,
Et ſoupçonnez mon cœur ſans apparence,
Vous mefiant à trop grand tort de moi.

Vous ignorez l'amour que je vous porte,
Vous ſoupçonnez qu'autre amour me tranſporte.

Vous eſtimez des paroles du vent
Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,
Vous me penſez femme ſans jugement;
Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.

8.

Mon amour croît et plus en plus croîtra,
Tant'que vivrai; et tiendrai à grand heur,
Tant ſeulement d'avoir part en ce cœur;
Vers qui enfin mon amour paroîtra.

* This could not be at the time when the Queen was confined in Dunbar and Edinburgh caſtles, as Bothwell was then exerting his utmoſt to gain her. In ſhort, we know of no period whatever in which ſuch ſonnets could have been written.

And for all that her painted words,
Her tears, her plaints, full of diſſimulation,
And her high cries and lamentations,
Have won that point which you keep in ſtore.

Her letters and writings; to which you give truſt,
Yea, and love and believe her more than me.

7.

You believe her alas! I perceive it too well,
And call in doubt my firm conſtancy,
O mine only wealth, and my only hope,
And I cannot aſſure you of my truth.

I ſee that you eſteem me light,
And are no way aſſured of me,
And do ſuſpect my heart without any appearing cauſe,
Diſcrediting me wrongouſly.

You do not know the love I bear to you,
You ſuſpect that other love tranſports me.

You think my words are but wind,
You paint my very *(weary)* heart as it were of wax,
You imagine me a woman without judgment;
And all that increaſes my burning.

8.

My love increaſes, and more and more will increaſe
So long as I live; and I ſhall hold for a great feli-
To have only part † in that heart [city,
To the which at length my love ſhall appear

† In the third letter from Glaſgow, the Queen contends for his whole heart.

Si tres clair, que jamais n'en doutera.
* * * * * * * *
Pour lui je veuz rechercher la grandeur ;
Et ferai tant, que de vrai connoîtra,

Que je n'ai bien, heur, ni contentement,
Qu'à l'obeïïr, et ſervir loyalement.

Pour lui j'attends toute bonne fortune,
Pour lui je veux garder ſanté et vie,
Pour lui toute vertu de ſuivre j'ai envie,
Et ſans changer me trouvera tout'une.

9.

Pour lui auſſi j'ai jettée mainte larme
Premier qu'il fût de ce corps poſſeſſeur,
Duquel alors * il n'avoit pas de cœur ;
Puis me donna une autre dure alarme,

Quand il verſa de ſon ſang mainte dragme ;
Dont de grief me vint laiſſer douleur,
Qui m'en penſa ôter la vie, et frayeur
De perdre las ! le ſeul rempart qui m'arme.

Pour lui depuis j'ai mepriſée l'honneur,
Ce qui nous peut ſeul pourvoir de bonheur.

Pour lui j'ai hazardée grandeur et conſcience,
Pour lui tous mes parens j'ai quittée et amis,
Et tous autres reſpects ſont à part mis ;
Bref, de vous ſeul je cherche l'alliance.

* This is the remarkable paſſage which expreſsly and uncontrovertibly contradicts the letters and contracts ; according to which her heart was given to Bothwell long before the rape.

So clearly, that he ſhall never doubt.
For him I will ſtrive againſt miſ-chance,
For him I will ſeek for greatneſs;
And ſhall do ſo much, that he ſhall know

That I have no wealth, hap nor content
But to obey and ſerve him truly.

For him I attend (*wait for*) all good fortune,
For him I will preſerve health and life,
For him I deſire to acquire courage,
And he ſhall ever find me unchangeable.

9.

For him alſo I poured out many tears,
Firſt when he made himſelf poſſeſſor of this body,
Of the which then he had not the heart;
After he did give me another hard charge,

When he bled of his blood great quantity
Through the great ſorrow of the which came to me
that grief
Which almoſt carried away my life, and the fear
To loſe the only ſtrength which armed me.

For him ſince, I have deſpiſed honour,
The thing only that brings felicity,

For him I have hazarded greatneſs and conſcience,
For him I have forſaken all kin and friends,
And ſet aſide all other reſpects;
Shortly, I ſeek the alliance of you only.

10.

De vous, je dis ſeul ſoutien de ma vie,
Tant ſeulment je cherche m'aſſurer ;
Et ſi oſe de moi tant preſumer,
De vous gagner malgré tout l'envie :

Car c'eſt le ſeul deſir de votre chere amie
De vous ſervir, et loyalement aimer,
Et tous malheurs moins que rien eſtimer,
Et votre volonté de la mienne ſuivre.

Vous connoitrez, avec obeïſance,
De mon loyal devoir n'ommettant la ſcience
A quoi j'etudirai, pour toujours vous complaire,

Sans aimer riens que vous, ſous la ſubjection
De qui je veux, ſans nulle fiction,
Vivre et mourir ; et à ce j'obtempere.

11.

Mon cœur, mon ſang, mon ame, et mon ſouci,
Las ! vous m'avez, promis qu'aurons ce plaiſir,
De deviſer avec vous à loiſir,
Toute la nuit, où je languis ici.

Ayant le cœur d'extreme peur tranſi
Pour voir abſent * le but de mon deſir.
Crainte d'oublir un coup me vient ſaiſir ;
Et l'autrefois je crains que endurci

Soit contre moi votre aimable cœur,
Par quelque dit d'un mechant rapporteur :

* This dates the ſonnets when Bothwell was abſent from the Queen.

10.

Of you, I ſay, only upholder of my life,
I only ſeek to be aſſured;
Yea, and dare preſume ſo much of myſelf,
To won you in ſpite of all envy:

For that is the only deſire of your dear love,
To ſerve and love you truly,
And ſo to eſteem all unhap leſs than nothing
And to follow your will with mine.

You ſhall know, with obedience
Not forgetting the knowing of my loyal duty,
The which I ſhall ſtudy, to the end that I may
ever pleaſe you,

Loving nothing but you, in the ſubjection
Of whom I will, without any fiction,
Live and die; and this I conſent.

11.

My heart, my blood, my ſoul, my care,
Alas! you had promiſed that I ſhould have that
To deviſe (*talk*) with you at leiſure, [pleaſure,
All the night, where I lye and languiſh here,

My heart being overſet (*chilled*) with extreme fear
Seeing abſent the butt of my deſire.
Fear of forgetting ſometimes takes me:
At other times I fear that lovely heart

Be not hardened againſt me
By ſome ſaying of a wicked reporter:

Un autre fois je crains quelque aventure,
Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,
Par un facheux et nouveau accident :
Dieu, detourne tout malheureux augure !

12.

Ne vous voyant ſelon qu'avez promis,
J'ai miſe la main au papier pour ecrire,
D'un different que j'ai voulu tranſcrire.
Je ne ſai pas quel ſera votre avis ;

Mais je ſai bien qui mieux aimer ſaura,
Vous diriez bien qui plus y gagnera.

Other times I fear ſome aventure (*accident*),
That by the way ſhould turn back my love,
By ſome troubleſome and new accident ;
O God, turn back all unhappy augure (*preſage*)!

12.

Not ſeeing you as you had promiſed,
I put my hand to the paper to write,
Of a difference which I have willed (*to*) copy.
I cannot tell what ſhall be your judgement ;

But I know well who can beſt love,
You may tell who ſhall won moſt.

NUMBER FOURTH.

The CONTRACTS of MARRIAGE.

The real contract is dated May 14. 1567: poſterior to the bond of aſſociation entered into by the Scottiſh nobles on April 19. recommending Bothwell as a huſband to their Sovereign; and poſterior to the divorce of Bothwell from his wife on May 3,—7th.

As the Queen hence, ſo far as this could go, ſtood vindicated by the priority of theſe events, the device ſeems to have occurred to her enemies, to ſlander her by fabricating *private* contracts prior both to the bond and divorce; and one of them prior even to the murder of Darnly. This project, however, does not ſeem to have occurred to them till the ſummer of 1568; for the firſt intimation given of contracts in their poſſeſſion, was in Murray's Receipt of September 16. that year.

They ſeem to have laid before them the real public contract, on purpoſe to make out from it, one or more, ſuch as ſhould anſwer their views. They adhered in part to the real contract, becauſe it was undoubtedly real: all neceſſary was, to make the deſired

deviations from it, both as to date and matter.

Along with the two contracts which they made out themſelves, they judged it fit to produce, at the ſame time, the public one at Weſtminſter; Buchanan has mentioned the fact *. Upon comparing the three together, ſcope would be given to thoſe who aſſiſted in quality of commentators, to explain the differences and the cauſes of them. That the reader may compare them himſelf, copies of all the three are ſubjoined.

No little ſkill is diſcovered in the two contracts attributed to the Queen. This appears not only in dating them before the real time, but in their contents. They imply, that the Queen was conſcious of doing what was wrong; for they make her ſpeak of the death of her huſband, and of the divorce of Bothwell from his wife, as events which were paſt, not which were to come. Thus, in the undated contract, mention is made of the "late Lord Darnly," although it was alleged by her enemies that this contract was written before his death. In the other, dated April 5. it is expreſsly ſaid, that the proceſs of divorce was "begun," although this was not the caſe till the end of April. Theſe were very artful ſtrokes; for they repreſented the Queen as labouring under natural ſentiments of ſhame, and therefore having

* Hiſt. 19. 374.

having recourſe to what may be called falſe *internal* dates, in order to counteract the *external* ones. What they made the Queen intend as a voucher of her innocence, they interpreted as a proof of her guilt.

Indeed, the French contract is without external date; but her enemies probably inferred from this very circumſtance, that it was actually written before Darnly's murder; in which caſe, it would have been infamous to put the real date to it. This probably, Buchanan means, when he ſays, "there were credible grounds to ſuppoſe it was written before the death of her huſband *." For why, he would ſay, to the Commiſſioners, was it not dated? Certainly, becauſe the time of writing it was prior to the murder. Nor was the omiſſion of a date, accidental: The Queen is actually made, to *half-date* the contract. She concludes with "Ecrit ce" (*written this*); and then ſtops; from which, ſhe half betrays and half conceals the fact.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that the ſtile in the dated forged contract, is artfully made to be more ſimple and decent than in the real one of May 14. becauſe the former was privately drawn up, and although equally binding, was not required to be in the uſual complete formal and indelicate language of law, which in the real one, ſays, that her "Majeſty was

* Anderſon, II. 92.

apt and able to procreate and bring forth more children." All this would hold out the contract of April 5. as a private one, and never intended to be ſeen. The particular and ample praiſes alſo beſtowed upon Bothwell in the real contract, are omitted; as being unneceſſary and out of place, in a private paper.

The Real Contract of Marriage between Queen Mary and Bothwell.

At Edinburgh the 14th day of May, the year of God 1567 years, it is appointed, agreed, contracted, and finally accorded, between the right excellent, right high and mighty Princeſs MARY, by the grace of God Queen of Scots, Dowager of France, on the one part; and the right noble and potent Prince JAMES Duke of Orkney, Earl Bothwell, Lord Hales, Crichtoun and Lyddeſdale, Great Admiral of this realm of Scotland, on the other part; in manner, form and effect, as after follows; that is to ſay,

Foraſmuch as her Majeſty, conſidering with herſelf how Almighty God has not only placed and conſtituted her Highneſs to reign over this realm, and during her lifetime to govern the people and inhabitants thereof, her

her native ſubjects; but alſo, that of her royal perſon ſucceſſion might be produced, to enjoy and poſſeſs this kingdom, and dominions thereof, when God ſhall call her Highneſs to his mercy, out of this mortal life; and how graciouſly it has pleaſed him already to reſpect her Highneſs and this her realm, in giving unto her Majeſty her moſt dear and only ſon, the Prince, for which, both her Highneſs ſelf, and her whole ſubjects are debt-bound to render unto God immortal praiſe and thanks: and how her Majeſty, being deſtitute of a huſband, living ſolitary in the ſtate of widowhood, and yet young and of flouriſhing age, apt and able to procreate and bring forth more children; has been preſſed and humbly required to yield unto ſome marriage. Which petition her Grace weighing, and taking in good part, but chiefly regarding the preſervation and continuance of her poſterity, has condeſcended thereto. And mature deliberation being had toward the perſonage of him with whom her Highneſs ſhould join in marriage; the moſt part of her nobility, by way of advice, has humbly prayed her Majeſty and thought better, that ſhe ſhould ſo far humble herſelf, as to accept one of her own born ſubjects on that ſtate and place, who were accuſtomed with the manners laws and conſuetude of this country, rather than any foreign Prince: and her Majeſty preferring their advice and

prayers, with the welfare of her realm, to the advancement and promotion which her Highneſs in particular might have by foreign marriage, has in that point likewiſe inclined to the ſuit of her ſaid nobility.

And they naming the ſaid noble Prince, now Duke of Orkney, for the ſpecial perſonage, her Majeſty, well adviſed, has allowed their motion and nomination, and graciouſly accorded thereunto; having recent memory of the notable and worthy acts and good ſervice done and performed by him to her Majeſty, as well ſince her returning and arrival in this realm, as of before in her Highneſs's minority, and during the time of government of the late her deareſt mother of good memory, in the forthſetting of her Majeſty's authority againſt all impugners and gainſtanders thereof; whoſe magnanimity courage and conſtant truth toward her Majeſty in preſervation of her own perſon from many evident and great dangers, and in conducting of high and profitable purpoſes tending to her Highneſs's advancement, and eſtabliſhing of this country to her perfect and univerſal obedience, has ſo far moved her and procured her favour and affection, that above the common and accuſtomed good grace and benevolence which princes uſe to beſtow on noblemen their ſubjects well deſerving, her Majeſty will be content to receive and take to her huſband the ſaid noble

Prince,

Prince, for ſatisfaction of the hearts of her nobility and people; and to the effect that her Majeſty may be more able to govern and rule her realm in time to come during her life-time, and that iſſue and ſucceſſion, at God's pleaſure, may be produced of her moſt noble perſon which being ſo dear and tender to her ſaid deareſt ſon, after her Majeſty's deceaſe, may before all others, ſerve aid and comfort him.

Wherefore the ſaid excellent and mighty Princeſs and Queen, and the ſaid noble and potent Prince James Duke of Orkney, ſhall God willing, ſolemnize and complete the bond of matrimony, either of them with the other, in face of holy Kirk with all goodly diligence.

And alſo her Majeſty, in reſpect of the ſame matrimony, and of the ſucceſſion at God's pleaſure to be procreated between them and produced of her body, ſhall in her next parliament grant a ratification with advice of her three Eſtates (which her Majeſty ſhall obtain) of the infeftment made by her to the ſaid noble Prince then Earl Bothwell and his Heirs-male to be gotten of his body; which failing to her Highneſs and her Crown to return, of all and whole the earldom lands and iſles of Orkney and lordſhip of Shetland, with the holms ſkerries whylands outbreaks caſtles tours fortalices manor-places milns multures woods cunynghars fiſhings as well

in

in freſh waters as ſalt, havens ports roads outſeits parts pendicles tenants tenantries ſervice of free tenants, advocation donation and right of patronage of Kirks benefices and chaplainries of the ſame, lying within the ſheriffdom of Orkney and freedom of Shetland reſpectively, with the toll and cuſtoms within the ſaid bounds, together with the offices of ſheriffſhip of Orkney and feu-dom of Shetland, and office of Juſticiary within all the bounds as well of Orkney as Shetland; with all the privileges fees liberties and duties pertaining and belonging thereto, and all their pertinents erected in one whole and free Duke-dom to be called the Duke-dom of Orkney forever; and if need be, ſhall make him new infeftment thereupon in competent and due form, which her Majeſty promiſes *in verbo principis*.

And in caſe as God forbid, there be no heirs-male procreated between her Majeſty and the ſaid Prince, he obliges his other heirs-male to be gotten of his body to renounce the holding of blanche ferme contained in the ſame infeftment, taking always and receiving new infeftment of the ſaid lands earldom lordſhip iſles toll cuſtoms and offices above written and all their pertinents erected in Duke-dom as ſaid is; which name and title it ſhall always retain notwithſtanding the alteration of the holding; his ſaid heirs-male to be gotten of his body, paying yearly therefore

therefore to our ſaid Sovereign Lady's ſucceſſors or their comptrollers in their name the ſum of two thouſand pounds money of this realm, like as the ſame was ſet in the time of the King's grace her gracious father of moſt worthy memory.

Moreover the ſaid noble and potent Prince and Duke obliges him, that he ſhall nowiſe diſpone or put away any of his lands heritages poſſeſſions and offices preſent, nor which he ſhall happen to obtain and conqueſt hereafter during the marriage, from the heirs-male to be gotten between him and her Majeſty, but they to ſucceed to the ſame as well as to the ſaid Duke-dom of Orkney.

Furthermore, it is concluded and accorded by her Majeſty, that all ſignatures letters and writings to be ſubſcribed by her Majeſty in time to come after the completing and ſolemnization of the ſaid marriage, either of gifts diſpoſitions graces privileges or other ſuch things whatſoever, ſhall be alſo ſubſcribed by the ſaid noble Prince and Duke for his intereſt, in ſign and token of his conſent and aſſent thereto as her Majeſty's huſband. Likeas it is alſo agreed and accorded by the ſaid noble Prince and Duke, that no ſignatures letters or writings either of gifts diſpoſitions graces privileges or other ſuch things concerning the affairs of the realm, ſhall be ſubſcribed by him only and without her Majeſty's advice and ſubſcription;

tion; and if any ſuch thing happen, the ſame to be of none avail.

And for obſerving keeping and fulfilling of the premiſes and every point and article thereof, the ſaid noble and mighty Princeſs and the ſaid noble Prince and Duke have bound and obliged them faithfully to others; and are content and conſent that this preſent contract be acted and regiſtrate in the books of Council and Seſſion, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam;* and for acting and regiſtring hereof in the ſaid books, her Majeſty ordains her advocates, and the ſaid noble Prince and Duke has made and conſtitute Mr David Borthwick Alexander Skene his procurators conjunctly and ſeverally

In witneſs of the which thing her Majeſty and the ſaid noble Prince and Duke have ſubſcribed this preſent Contract with their hands day year and place foreſaid; before theſe witneſſes a moſt reverend Father in God, John Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Commendator of Paiſley, &c.; George Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenach, Chancellor of Scotland, &c.; David Earl of Crawford, Lord Lindſay, &c.; George Earl of Rothes, Lord Leſlie; Alexander Biſhop of Galloway, Commendator of Inchaffray; John Biſhop of Roſs; John Lord Fleming; John Lord Herreis; William Maitland of Lethington younger, ſecretary to our Sovereign Lady; Sir John Ballenden of Achnoul Knight, Juſtice

Juſtice Clerk; And Mr Robert Crichton of Elliock, Advocate to her Highneſs; with others diverſe.

MARIE R.
JAMES Duke of Orkney.

A Contract aſcribed to Queen Mary.

Nous MARIE, par la Grace de Dieu, Reine d'Eſcoſſe, Doüairiére de France &c. promettons fidellement, et de bonne foi, et ſans contrainte à Jaques Hepburn Conte de Boduel, de n'avoir jamais autre epoux et mari que lui; et de le prendre pour tel, toute et quant fois qu'il m'en requerira, quoi que parens amis ou autres, y ſoient contraires. Et puis que Dieu a pris mon feu marî Henry Stuart dit Darnly, et que par ce moien je ſois libre, n'etant ſous obeïſſance de pere ni de mere; des maintenant je proteſte, que lui etant en meme liberté, je ſerai prête, et d'accomplir les ceremonies requiſes au mariage: que je lui promets devant Dieu, que j'en prens à têmoignage, et la preſente, ſignée de ma main. Ecrit ce

MARIE R.

Another

Another Contract aſcribed to Queen Mary.

At Seatoun the 5th day of April, the year of God 1567, the right excellent, right high and mighty Princeſs, Mary, by the Grace of God, Queen of Scots; conſidering the place and eſtate wherein Almighty God has conſtitute her Highneſs, and how, by the deceaſe of the King her huſband, her Majeſty is now deſtitute of a huſband, living ſolitary in the ſtate of widowhood; in the which kind of life, her Majeſty would moſt willingly continue, if the weal and realm of her ſubjects would permit; but on the other part, conſidering the inconveniencies may follow, and the neceſſity which the realm has that her Majeſty be coupled with a huſband; her Highneſs has inclined to marry. And ſeeing what incommodity may come to this realm, in caſe her Majeſty ſhould join in marriage with any foreign Prince of a ſtrange nation; her Highneſs has thought rather bettter to yield unto one of her own ſubjects; among whom her Majeſty finds none more able, nor endued with better qualities than the right noble and her dear couſin James Earl Bothwell, &c. of whoſe thankful and true ſervice her Highneſs, in all times byepaſt, has had large proof and infallible experience.

rience. And ſeeing not only the ſame good mind conſtantly perſevering in him, but, with that, an inward affection and hearty love towards her Majeſty; her Highneſs, among the reſt, has made her choice of him: And therefore in the preſence of the eternal God, faithfully, and on the word of a Prince, by theſe preſents, takes the ſaid James Earl Bothwell as her lawful huſband; and promiſes and obliges her Highneſs, that how ſoon the proceſs of divorce intended between the ſaid Earl Bothwell and Dame Jane Gordon now his pretended ſpouſe, be ended by the order of the laws, her Majeſty ſhall, God willing, thereafter ſhortly marry and take the ſaid Earl to her huſband, and complete the bond of matrimony with him, in face of holy Kirk, and ſhall never marry none other huſband but he only, during his life-time. And as her Majeſty, of her gracious humanity and proper motive without deſerving of the ſaid Earl, has thus inclined her favours and affection towards him; he humbly and reverently acknowleging the ſame according to his bound duty; and being alſo free and able to make promiſe of marriage in reſpect of the ſaid proceſs of divorce intended for diverſe reaſonable cauſes, and that his ſaid pretended ſpouſe has thereunto conſented; he preſently takes her Majeſty as his lawful ſpouſe, in the preſence of God, and promiſes and obliges him, as he will anſwer to God, and upon his

his fidelity and honour, that, in all diligence poſſible, he ſhall proſecute and ſet forward the ſaid proceſs of divorce already begun and intended between him and the ſaid Dame Jane Gordon, his pretended ſpouſe, unto the final end of a decreet and declaratour therein; and immediately thereafter, at her Majeſty's good will and pleaſure, and when her Highneſs thinks convenient, ſhall complete and ſolemnize, in face of holy kirk, the ſaid bond of matrimony with her Majeſty; and love honour and ſerve her Highneſs, according to the place and honour that it has pleaſed her Majeſty to accept him unto, and never to have any other for his wife during her Majeſty's life-time. In faith and witneſſing whereof her Highneſs and the ſaid Earl have ſubſcribed this preſent faithful promiſe with their hands, as follows; day year and place foreſaid; before theſe witneſſes, George Earl of Huntly and Mr Thomas Hepburn, Parſon of Oldham-ſtocks, &c.

MARIE R.
JAMES EARL BOTHWELL.

APPENDIX II.

Containing a Copy of Genuine Compositions of Mary Queen of Scots.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX II.

Copy of Genuine Compoſitions of Mary Queen of Scots.

THE object of this Appendix, is to lay before the Public, a conſiderable number of the genuine compoſitions of Queen Mary; conſiſting of her elegy on the death of her firſt huſband, Francis II. King of France; and of a variety of the letters which ſhe wrote on different occaſions; on purpoſe, that by comparing theſe, with thoſe writings aſcribed to her, contained in the foregoing Appendix, a judgment may be formed, independent of other evidence, whether the latter are forged, or are authentic. And not only, will the ſtyle of writing, the turn of thought, and the particular caſt of mind of that Princeſs, come hence under the review of the reader; but the narrative, and hiſtorical matter contained in the letters, will throw additional light on her character, and

ſerve, in ſome degree, for memoirs of her private life.

Indeed were any perſon, to collect together the whole of the writings and diſcourſes of Queen Mary, although they were not intended for publication, and conſequently not prepared for a critical eye, few things of the kind perhaps, would be found more worthy of the public peruſal. The work would contain intereſting views of a great Perſonage, who had been ſingularly unproſperous and cruelly perſecuted; who had ſenſibility to feel all her adverſities; that vigour, which enabled her to ſtruggle with them; and that ſuperiority of mind, which raiſed her above them. A picture would be preſented, of mildneſs, talents and elevation, maintaining a combat for more than twenty years, againſt the combined efforts of craft, of malice, of virulence and of deſpotic power.

The materials for ſuch an undertaking would fill a large volume. A great portion of the writings of Queen Mary, it is ſaid, is yet unpubliſhed; particularly, her letters repoſited in the Scotch College at Paris. Of thoſe which have been printed, it is only, a part, that is tranſlated, in this Appendix. And in executing this taſk, a literal and an unadorned verſion, has been the object: Whatever faults and inaccuracies are in the originals, will be found, and I fear many more, in my tranſlations.

The

The writers who are friendly to Queen Mary, and even moſt of thoſe who are unfavourable to her cauſe, in occaſionally tranſcribing ſome of her ſpeeches and letters, have ſet them off, in the ſtyle of poliſhed compoſition. From all attempts of this kind, I have ſtudiouſly abſtained. And I am not ſure, but that independent of the greater fidelity of the form in which they are here preſented, the reader will be better pleaſed with the unſtudied and natural eloquence in the Queen's compoſitions, than with the copies of ſelect portions of them, which have been caſt into a more modern ſhape. To deck out her ſentiments, to turn her ſentences into periods, to garble the ſhining paſſages, cannot certainly, be fair and juſtifiable.

Indeed there is little doubt, but that the following tranſlations may be juſtly blamed for falling below the merit of the originals. Literal and *verbatim* tranſlations, ſuch as theſe almoſt always are, muſt neceſſarily be of that character. And beſides, I cannot warrant, but that in ſeveral inſtances, I may have miſtaken the ſenſe itſelf. The Queen wrote, for the moſt part, in the French language; and in the old inaccurate manner of thoſe times, where the meaning is not unfrequently, hard to be made out. Her letters in the old Scottiſh, are ſtill more difficult to be underſtood, as being a language which ſhe her-

ſelf did not underſtand ſo well; and the difficulty is encreaſed, from an intermixture of a great number of French words and idioms; on which account, the reader is obliged to apply, ſometimes to the one language, ſometimes to the other, for the juſt meaning. But the moſt difficult of all to be unriddled, are her writings which have been copied from the originals, into the old Engliſh dialect. Theſe verſions appear, for the moſt part, to have been made by perſons exceedingly unfit for the buſineſs; and it is with the utmoſt difficulty, that in many paſſages, I have attempted to make coherence and ſenſe out of them.

It may be proper farther to remark, That, in fabricating writings in the name of Queen Mary, the forgers would find it much more eaſy to counterfeit her hand-writing, to have recourſe to words and phraſes which ſhe had actually made uſe of, to imitate her animation and fancy, and to allude to real circumſtances and facts, than to exhibit her particular and genuine ſtyle of compoſition. The laſt of theſe, they very probably left out of their view, as a thing which would not be critically attended to by the judges at her trial; and which could only be but in part, known to any one of them. The reader, from peruſing this appendix, will have a full opportunity of learning what her real

real ſtyle was; and of comparing it with that, in the writings aſcribed to her, in the foregoing.

The earlieſt compoſition of Queen Mary's that is handed down to us, is her Elegy on the death of her firſt huſband Francis II. King of France.

NUMBER I. Elegy on the Death of Francis II.

(*From the French, Febb II.* 480.)

1.

Et (*Eb*) mon triſte et doux chant
D'un ton fort lamentable!
Je jette un œil tranchant
De (*A*) perte incomparable;
Et en ſoûpirs cuiſans,
Paſſe mes meilleurs ans.

2.

Fut-il un tel malheur,
De dure Deſtinée,
Ni ſi triſte douleur
De Dame Fortunée,
Qui mon cœur et mon œil
Voit en biere et cercueil?

3.

Qui en mon doux printems,
Et fleur de ma jeuneſſe,
Toutes les peines, ſens,
D'une extreme triſteſſe;
Et en rien, n'ai plaiſir,
Qu'en regret et deſir.

1.

Ah! my ſad and ſweet ſong,
Of a ſtrain, very lamentable;
I caſt an anxious eye
Upon the loſs incomparable;
And in burning ſighs,
Paſs the beſt of my years.

2.

Has there come ſuch a woe
From cruel Deſtiny?
Or ſo ſad a ſorrow
From Dame Fortune?
As what my heart, and mine eye
Sees in the coffin and bier!

3.

In my ſweet ſpring,
And flower of my youth,
I feel all the pains
Of an extreme ſadneſs;
And in nothing have I pleaſure,
But in regret and deſire.

4.

Ce qui m'étoit plaiſant,
Or m'eſt peine dure ;
Le jour le plus luiſant
M'eſt nuit noire et obſcure ;
Et n'eſt rien ſi exquis,
Qui de moi ſoit requis.

5.

J'ai au cœur et à l'œil
Un portrait et image,
Qui figure mon deuil,
Et mon pâle viſage,
De violettes teint, (*eteint*)
Qui eſt l'amoureux teint.

6.

Pour mon mal êtranger *,
Je ne m'arrête en place ;
Mais j'en ai eu beau changer,
Si ma douleur j'efface !
Car mon pis et mon mieux,
Sont les plus deſerts lieux.

7.

Si en quelque ſejour,
Soit en bois, ou en pré,
Soit ſur l'aube du jour,
Ou ſoit ſur la vepré,
Sans ceſſe, mon cœur ſent
Le regret d'un abſent.

* I underſtand *étranger* here, to be a verb.

4.

What was to me pleaſant,
Is now a grievous pain;
The brighteſt day,
Is night dark and obſcure;
And there is nothing ſo exquiſite
As to make me deſire it.

5.

At my heart, Before mine eye,
Is a picture and image,
Which my weeds point out,
And my pale face,
Whoſe violets are quenched—
The complexion of love.

6.

To baniſh my pain,
I remain not in one place—
But in vain, do I change it,
If my grief, I efface!
For my worſt and my beſt *,
Are the moſt deſart places.

7.

In whatever abode,
Whether in wood or mead,
Whether at break of day
Or evening-tide,
Without ceaſe, my heart feels
Regret for one abſent.

* *Worſt*, becauſe moſt hurtful: *beſt*, becauſe moſt agreeable. See Stanza 3. lines 5. and 6.

8.

Si par fois, vers les cieux
Viens à dreſſer ma vuë,
Le doux trait de ſes yeux
Je vois en une nuë—
Soudain le vois, en l'eau,
Comme dans un tombeau.

9.

Si je ſuis en repos,
Sommeillant ſur ma couche,
J'oüi, qu'il me tient propos :
Je le ſens qui me touche.
En labeur et requoi,
Toujours eſt près de moi.

10.

Je ne vois autre object
Pour beau qui ſe preſente,
A' qui, que ſoit ſujet,
Oncques mon cœur conſente.
Exempt de Perfection :
A' cette affection.

11.

Mets chanſon, ici fin,
A' ſi triſte complainte ;
Dont ſerà le refrain—
Amour vraie et non feinte,
Pour la ſeparation,
N'aura diminution.

8.

If at times, towards the heavens,
I lift up my view,
The ſweet look of his eyes
I behold in a cloud—
Suddenly I ſee him in the water below *,
As if, in a tomb.

9.

If I go to repoſe,
Slumbering on my couch,
I hear him talking to me:
I feel him, touching me.
At work, and at reſt,
He is always near me.

10.

I ſee no other object
That preſents itſelf, as beautiful,
To which, to be ſubject,
My heart ever conſents.
An *Exempt* of Perfection,
I am devoted to this affection.

11.

Put an end here, O Song!
To ſo ſad a complaint;
Of which the Burthen ſhall be—
Love true and unfeigned,
From a ſeparation,
Will ſuffer no diminution.

* Baſons of water, are in every garden almoſt in France; and the walks frequently lead by them.

I have accompanied this Elegy, line for line, and almoſt word for word, with a literal tranſlation. In ſome paſſages, I am far from being ſure of having found out the meaning; as in the cloſe of the tenth ſtanza. The Queen, I have imagined, alludes there, to the office of an *Exempt*, or Life-guard who is not on military duty; as reſembling her own ſtate, now that ſhe was diſengaged from matrimonial cares, after the death of Francis, whom ſhe ſtyles *Perfection*. Some of the Stanzas, as the ninth, are exceedingly happy and pictureſque. A fine fancy appears in ſeveral others; particularly in the fifth and eighth. The ſixth and the cloſe of the third, are inſtances of the higheſt claſs of ſentimental beauty; and in point of energy and animation, excel the well known beautiful lines,

Mon deuil me plait, et doit toujours me plaire;
Il me tient lieu de celui qui je pleurs.

After all, perhaps it may be obſerved, that there is rather more beauty, than nature, in this poem: It breathes the language of love and grief, but it ſhines moſt in its poetical charms *.

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* Mr Tytler and Mr Pye, I ſhould think, have miſtaken the meaning of the ſixth Stanza.

Mr Tytler's tranſlation.

As a relief from my ſingular misfortune,
I wander from place to place;

But

NUMBER II. The Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.

(From the Scottiſh. Haynes, 376).

" Right excellent, right high, and mighty Princeſs, our deareſt Siſter and Couſin, we greet you well. Whereas, by your letters of the 23d of November, we underſtand, That as to our anſwer given by Sir Peter Mewtas, as he has reported it, you ſee no cauſe to be thereby ſo well ſatisfied as you looked for, we cannot well imagine what omiſſion could be found in it: For, as our meaning in it, is, and has been ſincere, juſt, and upright, ſo, in communicating our mind to him, we ſo framed our anſwer, as we thought might well tend to your contentment and the quietneſs of us both: And to that end, wiſhed that the treaty *(of Edinburgh)* which you require to be ratified, might be reviewed by ſome Commiſſioners

But 'tis in vain to think of change,
Which effaces not my grief;
For ſcenes which formerly gave me delight,
Are now become frightful ſolitudes to me.

Mr Pye's tranſlation.

Perplexed by this unwonted pain,
No place my ſteps can long detain;
Yet change of ſcene no comfort gives,
Where Sorrow's form forever lives.
My worſt, my happieſt ſtate of mind,
In ſolitude alone, I find.

miſſioners ſufficiently authoriſed on both ſides; to which, in your letter, you have ſtated, (*the propriety of*), ſuch a juſt and neceſſary conſideration, that the world ſhall not by our dealing, by open aſſembly of Ambaſſadors, take occaſion to judge, that our amity is not ſound, or in any points, ſhaken or impaired. As we not only do well allow, but alſo take the ſame for a plain declaration of your good mind, and an infallible token of your natural good love meant towards us; and therefore as you think it better, that we ſhould communicate, either privately to your ſervant, Thomas Randolph, or rather by our own letters to you, what are the very juſt cauſes which move us to delay the Ratification, we do willingly embrace the ſame, and preſently mean ſo plainly to utter our mind to you, that you ſhall well perceive the memory of all former ſtrange incidents is altogether extinguiſhed upon our part; and that now, without any reſerve we deal frankly with you, in ſuch a way as is ſuitable to two Siſters profeſſing ſuch firm amity to treat together. We deſiſt at this time, to ſpeak of the period at which the treaty was paſſed; by whoſe commandment; by what Miniſters; how they were authoriſed; or particularly to examine the ſufficiency of their Commiſſion: Which points are not ſo ſlight, but the leaſt of them is worthy of ſome conſideration. We ſhall only at preſent ſpeak of that point,

which

which is proper for us to attend to; and which on your part is not unbecoming; but ſuch, as in honour, juſtice, and reaſon, you may well allow. How prejudicial that treaty is, to ſuch title and intereſt as by birth and natural deſcent of your own lineage may fall to us, by the very inſpection of the treaty itſelf, you may eaſily perceive; and how ſlenderly a matter of ſo great conſequence is wrapped up in obſcure terms. We know how near we are deſcended of the blood of England; and what devices have been attempted, to make us, as it were, a ſtranger to it. We truſt, being your ſo near Couſin, you would be ſorry, we ſhould receive ſo manifeſt an injury, as inconſiderately to be debarred from that Title, which may poſſibly fall to us. We will deal frankly with you, and wiſh that you deal frankly with us: We will have at preſent no judge of the Equity of our demand, but yourſelf. If we had ſuch an affair to ſettle with any other Prince, there is no perſon whoſe advice we would rather follow; ſo great an account do we make of your friendſhip to us, and ſuch an opinion have we conceived of your uprightneſs in judgment, that although the affair partly concern yourſelf, we dare venture to put much in your hands. We will require nothing of you, but that which we could well find in our heart to grant to you, if the like caſe were ours. As to that Treaty

in ſo far as concerns us, we are content with all that reaſonably may be required of us, or rather to enter into a new one, in ſuch terms as may not be to our own prejudice, in favour of you and the lawful iſſue of your body; provided always that our intereſt to the Crown, failing of yourſelf and the lawful iſſue of your body, may at the ſame time, be well ſecured with all circumſtances neceſſary, and in form requiſite. Which matter being once, in this way, agreed upon between us, and by means of it, the whole ſeed of diſſenſion being taken up by the root, we doubt not but hereafter our behaviour together in all reſpects ſhall ſhew to the world as great and firm friendſhip, as by hiſtory is recorded to have taken place at any time between any couple of deareſt friends whatever, (beſides ſurpaſſing the preſent examples of our own age) to the great comfort of our ſubjects, and perpetual quietneſs of both the Realms, which we are bound in the ſight of God, by all good means to procure. We leave to your own conſideration, what reaſons we might allege to confirm the equity of our demand, and what is probable that others would allege, if they were in our place, which we paſs over with ſilence. You ſee what abundance of love, nature has wrought in our heart towards you, by which we are moved, rather to admit ſomething that others perhaps would hold to be inconvenient, than

leave

leave any ground for a breach; and to ſet aſide the manner of treating cuſtomary among other Princes, waving all ceremony, to propoſe and utter what is at the bottom of our mind nakedly, without any circumſtances; which manner of dealing in our opinion, deſerves to be anſwered with like frankneſs. If God ſhall grant a good occaſion that we may meet together, which we wiſh may be ſoon, we truſt you ſhall more clearly perceive the ſincerity of our good meaning than we can expreſs by writing. In the mean time, we deſire you heartily, as you term us your good Siſter, ſo imagine with yourſelf that we are ſo in effect; and that you may look for no leſs aſſured and firm friendſhip at our hands, than we were your natural Siſter in reality; of which you ſhall from time to time have good experience, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe you to continue on your part, the good underſtanding begun between us. And thus &c. we commit you &c." Seaton 5th January 1562.

Your good Siſter and loving Couſin

MARY QUEEN.

Nothing diſcovers better political principles than this Letter. And the plain and open manner in which ſhe writes to Queen Elizabeth, and propoſes to deal with her afterward, belongs only to a generous and ſuperior mind.

NUMBER III. Queen Mary to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow.

(From the Scottiſh. Keith, 330. &c.)

" Moſt reverend Father, we greet you well. We received your diſpatch ſent by Captain Mure; and ſince that time, ſundry incidents having occurred, and knowing not what judgment is paſſed upon them, we thought neceſſary to write you an account of them. It is not unknown to you that our Parliament was appointed to meet on the 12th of this month of March, to which our Rebels and fugitives in England were ſummoned, to have heard themſelves forfeited. The day approaching, we required the King our huſband to aſſiſt us in going to the Parliament; who as we are aſſured, being perſuaded by the fugitive Rebels, with the advice and aid of the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindſay, their Aſſiſtants and accomplices, who were in our company, by their ſuggeſtion, refuſed to go with us; as we ſuppoſe on account of his facility and the ſubtle arts of the ſaid Lords. He agreed to promote the pretended Religion made public here, to put the Rebels in poſſeſſion of the lands and properties which they had formerly; and without our knowledge, to grant to them a pardon of all their treſpaſſes. The

ſaid

ſaid Rebels and their partiſans, promiſed to help him to the Crown Matrimonial, give him the ſucceſſion, and devote their lives to his intereſts. If any ſhould withſtand his authority, they would defend the ſame to the utmoſt of their power, not excepting our own perſon. Theſe ſubtle factions being unknown to us, and hoping no inconvenience to have been deviſed or to have ſucceeded, we, accompanied by our Nobility for the time, went to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to hold our Parliament upon the 7th of this month, and elected the Lords of the Articles. The Spiritual Eſtate was convened there in the ancient manner, with an intention to have done ſome good about reſtoring the old (*catholic*) religion, and to have proceeded againſt our Rebels, according to their demerits.

Upon the 9th, we being, about ſeven o'clock in the evening at ſupper in our Cabinet, accompanied by our Siſter the Counteſs of Argyle, our Brother the Commendator of Holyroodhouſe, &c. in a quiet manner, on account of our indiſpoſition, having alſo advanced almoſt to the end of the ſeventh month of our pregnancy, the King our huſband came to us, and placed himſelf beſide us at ſupper. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindſay with their aſſiſtants, accoutered in a warlike manner, to the number of eight ſcore perſons or thereby, poſſeſſed themſelves

of the whole Entry of our Palace, ſo that as they believed it was not poſſible for any perſon to eſcape. In the mean time the Lord Ruthven, accoutered in like manner, with his accomplices, forced himſelf into our Cabinet, and ſeeing there our Secretary David Rizio, declared he had ſomething to ſay to him. Immediately we enquired of the King our huſband, if he knew any thing of that enterprize? He denied that he did. Alſo we commanded Lord Ruthven, under pain of treaſon, to be gone from our preſence; declaring we ſhould produce the ſaid David before the Parliament, to be puniſhed, if any wiſe, he had offended. Notwithſtanding, Lord Ruthven attacked him in our preſence, (he flying for ſafety behind our back) and with his accomplices caſt down our table upon ourſelf, put violent hands upon him, ſtruck him over our ſhoulders with hangers; one part of them, ſtanding before our face with cocked piſtols, moſt cruelly took him out from our Cabinet, and at the entry of our Chamber, gave him fifty ſix ſtrokes with hangers and ſwords. In doing which we were not only ſtruck with great dread, but alſo from ſeveral conſiderations, were moſt juſtly induced to be in extreme fear for our life. Immediately after this deed, Lord Ruthven coming into our preſence, declared how they and their accomplices were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable,

tolerable, how we were abuſed by David (whom they had actually put to death) in taking his counſel for maintaining the ancient religion, debarring the fugitive Lords, and entertaining amity with foreign Princes and nations with whom we were confederate; putting alſo into the Council the Lords Bothwell and Huntly who were traitors, and with whom he aſſociated himſelf. He ſaid that the baniſhed Lords were next day to reſort to us, and would take a clear part with them againſt us, and that the King was willing to pardon their offences. We all this time took no leſs care of ourſelves than of our Council and Nobility, who were with us at the time; namely the Earls of Huntly Bothwell Athole, Lords Fleming and Levingſton, Sir James Balfour, &c. againſt whom the conſpiracy was made, as well as againſt David; and particularly they were to have hanged Sir James. Yet by the providence of God, the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell eſcaped out of their apartments in our palace at a back-window by help of cords; upon which the conſpirators took fright and thought themſelves greatly diſappointed. The Earl of Athole and Sir James Balfour with the Lords Fleming and Levingſton, alſo by ſome other means made their eſcape. The Provoſt and Town of Edinburgh having heard of this tumult in our palace, cauſed ring their common bell, came to us in great numbers, and deſired to

have ſeen us, ſpoken with us, and to have known of our welfare: To whom we were not permitted to give anſwer, being extremely threatened by theſe Lords, who in our face declared, if we deſired to have ſpoken to them, that they would cut us in pieces, and caſt us over the walls. So this band being commanded by our huſband, retired and became quiet.

All that night we were detained in captivity within our chamber, not being permitted ſcarcely to ſpeak with our ſervant women nor domeſtics. Next day proclamation was made in our huſband's name, without our advice, commanding all Prelates and other Lords convened for the Parliament, to retire out of Edinburgh. That whole day we were kept in that priſon, our ſervants and guards being debarred from our ſervice, and we ourſelves watched by the perpetrators of theſe crimes, to whom a part of the Community of Edinburgh to the number of fourſcore perſons, joined themſelves.

The Earl of Murray that ſame day in the evening, with the Earl of Rothes, &c. from England, came to them, and ſeeing our ſtate and treatment, was moved with natural affection towards us. Next day he aſſembled the perpetrators of this late crime and ſuch of our Rebels as came with him. In their Council they thought it moſt expedient that we ſhould be confined to our Caſtle of Stirling,

ling, to remain there till we ſhould approve in Parliament of all their wicked attempts, *eſtabliſh their religion*, and give to the King the Crown Matrimonial and the whole Government of our kingdom: Otherwiſe, to all appearance, they firmly purpoſed to have put us to death, or detain us in perpetual captivity. To remove them out of our palace with their guard and aſſiſtants, the King promiſed to keep us that night in ſure cuſtody, and that without compulſion, he ſhould cauſe us in Parliament, approve all their conſpiracies. By this means he cauſed them to retire out of our palace.

This being granted, and the guard commanded to ſerve us in the uſual manner (but fear and dread always remained with us) we declared our ſtate to the King our huſband, demonſtrating to him how miſerably he would be treated, if he permitted theſe Lords to prevail againſt us; and how unacceptable it would be, to other Princes and confederates if he altered the Religion. By this perſuaſion he was induced to agree to the reſolution taken by us and to go with us to Dunbar, which we did in the night time accompanied with the Captain of our guard Arthur Erſkine and two others only. Before this, we with a view to make our eſcape, deſired the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly privately to have prepared ſome means by which they might have performed the ſame, who not heſitating

to

to do ſo, and at the hazard of their lives, deviſed that we ſhould come over the walls of our palace, in the night upon ropes and chairs, which they had in readineſs for that purpoſe.

Soon after our coming to Dunbar ſeveral of our Nobility zealous for our ſafety, ſuch as the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, &c. and others in infinite number aſſembled to us; by whoſe advice proclamations being made for convening our lieges to attend us and our ſervice; the Lords conſpirators perceiving the ſame, the Earl of Glencairn, as innocent of this laſt crime, came to us by our permiſſion, and has obtained pardon; and alſo the Earl of Rothes. The Earl of Murray and Argyle ſent diverſe meſſages to procure our favour, to whom alſo, for certain reaſons, by advice of our Nobility and Council we have granted forgiveneſs, under condition, they ſhall in no wiſe apply to the Conſpirators, and retire into Argyle during our pleaſure: As we thought it very difficult to have ſo many at once bent againſt us, knowing the promiſes paſſed already between the King and them; and our force not being ſufficient, through inability of our perſon to reſiſt them, and put the matter in ſo great hazard.

We remained in Dunbar five days and then returned to Edinburgh well accompanied by our ſubjects. The Conſpirators againſt Rizio with their aſſiſtants having removed

moved themſelves out of it beforehand, and being preſently fugitives, we have cauſed by our charges, their whole fortunes ſtrong places and houſes to be ſurrendered to us, alſo have cauſed make an inventory of their goods and effects and intend, farther, to purſue them with all rigour. In this we are aſſured of having the aſſiſtance of our huſband, who has declared to us, and in preſence of the Lords of our Privy-council, his innocence as to this laſt conſpiracy, and that he never counſelled commanded aſſiſted nor approved of the ſame. Thus far only he was out-witted, that at the enticement and perſuaſion of the late conſpirators, he, without our advice or knowledge, conſented to bring home from England the Earls Murray Glencairn Rothes and other perſons with whom we were offended. This you will conſider of from his Declaration made upon it, which at his deſire has been publiſhed at the market-croſſes of this our kingdom; and of which, with theſe preſents we thought neceſſary to ſend you the original. We have inſtructed this bearer Mr James Thornton as to ſeveral other particular matters, to whom give credit. We require you, in caſe of your being abſent from Court, that you go thither with diligence, to declare all our proceedings to the King and Queen Mother, and our Uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain to whom we have alſo written upon the above ſubject.

And

And ſo we commit you to the protection of the Eternal God." From Edinburgh the ſecond day of April 1566.

Poſtſcript from the French in the Queen's own hand.

" I beg that you will not fail, as ſoon as you receive this letter, to go to the Court, that you may prevent falſe reports from being believed, and ſpeak at large upon the ſubject to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador and other foreigners."

Your very good Miſtreſs and Friend.

MARY QUEEN.

This letter, although it is of a formal nature, evidently appears to have been dictated by Queen Mary, and diſcovers her uſual delicacy and judgment. She both diſcloſes, and conceals, the folly and criminality of her huſband. In tranſcribing it, I have not always followed the original literally, as it is not to be ſuppoſed entirely of the Queen's compoſition.

NUMBER IV. Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.

(*From the Scottiſh: Keith*, 344.)

" Right excellent, right high and mighty Princeſs, our deareſt Siſter and Couſin, in our moſt hearty manner we commend us to you. We have underſtood by your declaration made not only to our deareſt brother the King of France and to his Ambaſſador with you, but alſo to Monſieur Rambolet his late Ambaſſador here, and by Mr Randolph your agent, that you had neither aided, nor was diſpoſed to aid and ſupport our Rebels againſt us, which we have always taken to be undoubtedly true, and will look for no other at your hands: Such reſpect have we for you and for your declaration, which we will nowiſe diſtruſt. Yet we have certain knowledge that our ſaid Rebels were ſupported with the ſum of three thouſand Crowns ſent to the Lady Murray by Mr Randolph about the middle of Auguſt laſt year, as the man who carried the money has confeſſed in his own preſence. Which behaviour, as we have juſt occaſion to think moſt ſtrange and unbecoming the office of a good Miniſter profeſſing himſelf a peaceable inſtrument and upholder of friendſhip, we and our Council cannot think well of, but take it to be without

out your opinion (*approbation*), and tending to ſome other end and purpoſe than that for which he was ſent here by you; and we have taken occaſion to ſend him home to you, where his behaviour in this affair, may be tried, and he treated accordingly at your diſcretion. At our proceedings in this matter, we pray you not to wonder, as our knowledge of it ariſes from no light report; but as we have ſaid, from the man himſelf who received from his (*Randolph's*) hands the money carried here, and who carried back the Lady Murray's Letter of Receipt of the ſame again to him, as at greater length we have commanded our Servant Robert Melvill to communicate to you. And if, as formerly, your pleaſure be to have a reſident Servant here, whoſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to ſend, being a man inclined to amity and good offices, he ſhall be gladly welcome; and from reſpect to you, we will command all civility and good reception to be ſhown as are due. And thus right excellent." &c.

This "notable letter" as Keith juſtly calls it, is without date, but appears to have been written ſometime in the ſpring of the year 1566.

NUMBER V. Queen Mary to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow.

(*An original, from the Scottiſh; Keith, Introd.* VIII.)

" Moſt reverend Father in God and truſty Counſellor we greet you well. We have received this morning your letters of the 27th January, by your ſervant Robert Dury, containing in one part (*of them*) ſuch information as we find by effect too true although the ſucceſs has not altogether been ſuch as the authors of that miſchievous act had preconceived in their minds, and had put into execution, if God in his mercy had not preſerved us, and reſerved us, as we truſt, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that miſchievous deed, which, that it ſhould remain unpuniſhed, we had rather loſe life and all. The matter is horrible and ſo ſtrange, that we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This laſt night being the 9th February, a little after two hours after midnight, the houſe in which the King was lodged was in an inſtant blown into the air, he lying ſleeping in his bed, with ſuch a vehemence, that of the whole lodging walls and other (*parts*) there has nothing remained, no, not a ſtone above another, but all (*are*) either carried far away, or driven to

to pieces to the very ground-ſtone. It muſt be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but (*that*) according to the diligence our Council has begun already to uſe, the certainty of all ſhall be found out ſhortly; and the ſame being diſcovered, which we believe God will never ſuffer to lye hid, we hope to puniſh the ſame with ſuch rigour as ſhall ſerve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always, whoever have taken this wicked enterprize in hand, we aſſure ourſelves it was contrived as well for us as for the King; for we lay the moſt part of all the laſt week in that ſame lodging, and were there accompanied with the moſt part of the Lords who are in this town that ſame night at midnight; and by pure chance remained not all night, on account of a Maſk in the Abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it into our head. We have diſpatched this bearer upon the emergence, and therefore write you the more ſhortly. The reſt of your letter we ſhall anſwer at more leiſure within four or five days by your own ſervant. And ſo for the preſent we commit you to Almighty God." At Edinburgh the 11th day of February 1567.

MARIE R.

The

The Queen in the beginning of this letter, alludes to ſome information which it appears from the Archbiſhop's letter of the 27th January, Keith VIII. and IX. he had ſent her, concerning plots againſt her perſon; and in which he beſeeches her to be upon her guard. This circumſtance proves, that there were ſtrong ſuſpicions at that time, of an attempt being meditated againſt the life of the Queen herſelf.

NUMBER VI. Queen Mary to the Earl of Lennox.

(An original, from the Scottiſh; Anderſon I. 41.)

" Right truſty Couſin and Counſellor we greet you well. We have received your letter of the 20th day of this inſtant giving us thanks, for the accepting of your good will and counſel, in ſo good part. In that, we did only what was right, and in ſhowing you all the complaiſance and good will that we can, we do but our duty, and what natural affection muſt compel us to, of which you may always aſſure yourſelf as certainly at preſent and hereafter, ſo long as God gives us life, as ever you might have done ſince our firſt acquaintance with you. And for the Aſſembly of the Nobility and Eſtates which you adviſe us, to cauſe to be convened, for a com-

plete Trial to be had of the King our huſband's cruel ſlaughter, it is indeed convenient * (*requiſite*) that this ſhould be done; and even, a little before the receipt of your letter, we had cauſed proclaim a parliament, at which, we doubt not but they all, for the moſt part, will be preſent, where, firſt of all, this matter, being moſt dear to us, ſhall be diſcuſſed, and nothing left undone which may advance the clear Trial of the ſame. And we, for our own part, as we ought, and all Noblemen likewiſe we doubt not, will moſt willingly direct all our wits and ingenuity to this end, as experience, at laſt, with God's Grace, ſhall prove to the world. And ſo we commit you to God." At Seaton the 21 day of February 1567.

Your daughter-in-law

MARIE R.

NUMBER VII. Queen Mary to the Earl of Lennox.

(*An original, from the Scottiſh; Anderſon I.* 45.)

" We have received your letter, and by the ſame perceive, that you have partly miſtaken

* From the French *il-convient*: One of many inſtances of French words and phraſes being uſed by the Queen when writing in the Scottiſh.

miſtaken our late letter ſent you by your ſervant, upon the 24th of February, as to putting off the Trial of the odious Act committed, till the time of a parliament. We meant not that, but rather would wiſh to God, that it might be ſuddenly and without delay tried, for always the ſooner the better and the greater comfort for us; yet, becauſe your advice was, that we ſhould convene our whole Nobility for that purpoſe, we anſwered you, that we had already proclaimed a parliament, at which they would convene, and before which we judged it impoſſible to get them together, ſeeing they would think (*a*) double convening heavy to them; and ſo, in mentioning a Parliament, we meant not that this Trial was a parliament matter, not that it was requiſite to defer it till that time, but that then the Nobility would be beſt convened. And as to your deſire, that we ſhould cauſe the (*perſons whoſe*) names contained in ſome placards affixed on the Tolbooth door of Edinburgh to be apprehended and put in ſure cuſtody, there are ſo many of theſe placards, and beſides ſo different and contrary among themſelves as to the names, that we know not upon what placard to proceed; but if there be any names mentioned in them, which you think worthy to undergo a Trial, upon your making known to us, we ſhall ſo proceed to the taking cognizance, as may conſiſt with the laws of this realm; and

(*they*) being found culpable, (*we*) ſhall ſee the puniſhment as rigorouſly executed as the weight of the crime deſerves. Any other thing you think meet to be done for that purpoſe, we pray you let us know of it; and we will not omit any opportunity which may clear the matter, and ſo farewell." At Seaton, the firſt day of March 1567. Your, &c. as above.

NUMBER VIII. Queen Mary to the Earl of Lennox.

(*An original, from the Scottiſh; Anderſon, I.* 48.)

" We have received your letter of the 17th of this inſtant relating to our laſt ſent you, and ſpecially naming the perſons mentioned in the placards, whom you greatly ſuſpect. As to the convention of our Nobility and Council, we have anticipated the thing deſired by you in your letter, and have ſent for them to be with us in Edinburgh this approaching week; where the perſons named in your letter, ſhall abide and undergo ſuch Trial as by the laws of this realm, is accuſtomed; and they, being found culpable in anywiſe of that crime and odious deed condeſcended upon in the placards, and of which you ſuſpect them, we ſhall, according to our former letter, ſee the

the condign puniſhment as rigorouſly and extremely executed as the weight of that deed deſerves. For indeed, as you write, we eſteem ourſelves parties if we were certified as to who are the perpetrators; and therefore we pray you, if your leiſure and convenience may ſuit, endeavour to be with us here in Edinburgh this approaching week, where you may ſee the ſaid Trial, and declare thoſe things which you know may promote the ſame; and there you ſhall have experience of our earneſt will and effectual deſire to have an end put to this matter, and the perpetrators of ſo unworthy a deed really puniſhed to the degree, as before this, and now preſently we have written and promiſed. And ſo for the preſent we commit you to God." At Edinburgh the 24th day of March 1567. Yours, &c.

NUMBER IX. Queen Mary to the Queen of France.

(*From the French; Jebb.* 508.)

" Madam, my mother-in-law, I have received your comfortable letter, the bearer of which is ſtill a priſoner; and I cannot enough moſt humbly thank you for your affection. I am in ſo miſerable a ſtate, that I cannot offer you ſervices; as to my inclination,

clination, it is devoted to you at all times. I have with great difficulty diſpatched this bearer to let you know my miſery, and to beſeech you to have pity upon me; as M. de Mora *(the Earl of Murray)* has cauſed it privately to be told me, that the King your Son and his ſubjects are to be reconciled, on condition that he is to ſend me no relief, and that you are to be ſent home. Some of your own ſervants have conveyed this information, and there is beſides other intelligence, that there will certainly be no reconciliation, but on that condition. This I will not believe, for after God, I will place my whole hope on you two, as this bearer ſhall tell you, to whom I beg you to give credit, as to myſelf: for I dare not write more, but to pray God, to have you in his holy keeping." From my priſon (*Lochlevin*) this laſt of March 1568.

Your very humble and very obedient daughter

MARIE.

NUMBER X. Queen Mary to the Queen of France.

(From the French; Jebb. 509.)

" Madam, I ſend you this bearer, upon the occaſion of my writing to the King your Son,

Son, who will tell you more at length; for I am watched ſo narrowly that I have no leiſure but while they are dining or ſleeping, at which time I riſe up; for their maids lye in my chamber; this bearer will tell you all. I beſeech you to give him credit, and to recompenſe him and thoſe whom he will preſent to you, as you love me. I beg of you both to have pity upon me; for if you do not take me by force, I ſhall never eſcape. I am ſure of this, and that if it ſhould pleaſe you to ſend forces, all Scotland will revolt againſt Murray and Morton, if they perceive that you lay the matter to heart. I beg you to give credit to the bearer and to keep me in your good grace, and I pray God to give you his, and the happineſs which I deſire to you." From my priſon (*Lochlevin*) this 1ſt May 1568 &c. as above.

NUMBER XI. Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(*An original, all in her own hand. From the French; Anderſon, IV.* 29. *&c.*)

" Madam, my good Siſter, I believe you are not ignorant how long it is ſince ſome ſubjects whom I made from being the leaſt to be the greateſt in my kingdom, have endeavoured to diſturb me, and have made it

now apparent what was their aim at firſt *. You know how they propoſed to ſeize me and the late King my huſband, from which attempt it pleaſed God to deliver us and to permit us to drive them out of the country, where at your requeſt I received them afterward, although they had committed on their return another crime, in holding me a priſoner and killing in my preſence one of my ſervants, at the time that I myſelf was big with child. It pleaſed God farther that I ſhould eſcape from their hands, and as is ſaid above, I not only pardoned them, but received them into the ſame favour with me as before; but they not contented ſtill with ſo many favours, notwithſtanding their promiſe, have on the contrary deviſed and promoted and ſubſcribed, and aſſiſted in the commiſſion of a crime, on purpoſe, falſely to impute it to me as I hope clearly to make appear to you. Under this pretext they took arms againſt me, and accuſing me of following bad counſel, they deſired to deliver me from bad company on purpoſe to ſhew me thoſe things which required reformation. I, conſcious of my innocence, and deſirous to avoid the ſhedding of blood, committed myſelf into their hands, being willing to reform whatever

* The ſenſe in the laſt clauſe of this ſentence, I have only gueſſed at, on account of the old French, and ſeeming miſtakes in the tranſcribing. Many more inſtances might be quoted, but I make this obſervation once for all.

ever was amiſs; immediately they ſeized upon me and put me in priſon. When I accuſed them of breaking their promiſe, I begged they would let me underſtand why they treated me ſo; they all kept away from my preſence; I demanded to be heard in council; this was refuſed me.

In ſhort, they allowed me no ſervants but two women, a cook and a ſurgeon, and threatened to kill me, if I did not ſign a reſignation of my crown; which the fear of ſudden death made me do, as I have declared before the whole Nobility, whoſe teſtimony I hope to ſhow you. Afterward they called me to account, and accuſed and proceeded againſt me in Parliament without telling me for what, without hearing me, allowing no Advocate to ſpeak for me, conſtraining every body to acquieſce in their falſe uſurpation of my Power, pillaging me of all that I had in the world, never permitting me either to write or to ſpeak; that I might ſay nothing againſt their falſe contrivances. At laſt, it has pleaſed God, to deliver me from them at the time that they meditated to put me to death, in order to make themſelves more ſecure, how much ſoever I offered to them to anſwer all that they could ſay to me, and to aſſiſt them in the puniſhment of thoſe who were guilty of any crime.

At laſt, it has pleaſed God to releaſe me, to the great ſatisfaction of all my ſubjects, except

except Murray, Morton, the Humes, Glencairn, Mar and Semple, to whom, after all my Nobles had come to me from all quarters, I ſent to ſay, that notwithſtanding their ingratitude and unjuſt cruelty to me, I was very willing to invite them to their duty; and offered them ſecurity for their lives and fortunes, and to hold a Parliament to ſet all things to rights. I ſent twice; they took and impriſoned the meſſengers; iſſued proclamations declaring all thoſe to be traitors, and guilty of this odious crime, who ſhould aſſiſt me. I ſent to them, that if they would name to me any perſon, I would deliver him up, beſeeching them to deliver up to me alſo thoſe who ſhould be named by them; they ſeized the officer and my proclamations. I ſent to aſk permiſſion for Lord Boyd to propoſe an accommodation; as I had no deſire that blood ſhould be ſhed for my ſake; they refuſed and ſaid, that if any perſon ſhould fail in duty to their Regent and to my Son whom they ſtyle King, that they would abandon me and act as they pleaſed.

This, all the Nobility took in very bad part. Conſidering then that they were only individuals, and that my Nobility were more attached to me than ever, I hoped, in the courſe of time, and with your favour, that they would be gradually reduced, and as they ſaid, that they would ſeize me again, or all of them die, I ſet forward to Dunbarton two miles

miles from them, my Nobility accompanying me in battle-array, between them and me, upon which they tried to ſtop me on the way and ſeize me. My troops ſeeing this, and irritated at the extreme unluckineſs of their getting before them, engaged them without order, in ſuch a way that by twice making a ſudden march ſuch a diſadvantage was occaſioned, that God permitted they ſhould be diſcomfited and many ſlain and taken; ſome of whom flying and being taken, were moſt cruelly put to death. Immediately the purſuit was ſuſpended, in order to ſeize me on the way to Dunbarton, and bodies of troops were ſent every where to kill or ſeize me; but God out of his infinite goodneſs preſerved me in company with Lord Herries. He, and other Lords who have come with me into your country aſſure ourſelves, that upon being informed of their cruelty and how they have treated me, that agreeable to your good natural diſpoſition and the faith which I have in you, you will not only receive me, for the ſecurity of my life, but aid and aſſiſt me in my juſt quarrel, and call upon other Princes to do the like. I beg as ſoon as poſſible that you will ſend for me; for I am in a pitiable ſtate; not for a Queen but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but my perſon which is ſaved, having travelled ſixty miles acroſs the fields the firſt day, and not having dared to proceed

ceed afterward but in the night time, as I hope to ſhew you if it pleaſe you to have pity, (as I hope) of my extreme misfortune, of which I ſhall ſay no more by way of lamentation, that I may not be troubleſome to you, and that I may pray God to give you with health a very happy and long life; and to me, patience and the conſolation which I expect to receive from you, to whom I preſent my humble recommendations." From Workington (*in Cumberland*) the 17th of May (1568.) Your very faithful and affectionate good-ſiſter and couſin, and eſcaped priſoner.

MARIE R.

NUMBER XII. Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(*An original, all in her own hand. From the French; Anderſon, IV.* 46.)

" Madam, my good Siſter, I have received your two letters; to the firſt of which I hope to give an anſwer myſelf by word of mouth; and having underſtood by my Lord Scroop and your Vice-chamberlain, your natural good diſpoſition towards me, which I always with certainty promiſed to myſelf, I would wiſh that my affection for you were as viſible, as this unfeigned letter which tenders it

it to you; then would you believe that your favour were better beſtowed than I can aſſure you by my humble thanks. Madam, I am ſorry that the haſte in which I wrote my laſt letter, made me omit as I perceive by your's, the principal thing which moved me to write it to you, and what is more, the principal cauſe of my coming into your realm, namely, That having been for this long time a priſoner, and as already I have written to you, treated unjuſtly as well by their deeds as by their falſe reports, I deſired with reſpect to every thing to come in perſon to make you my complaint, as well on account of proximity of blood, ſimilarity of Eſtate, and profeſſed friendſhip, as for acquitting me in your ſight of ſuch calumnies and ſpeeches which they have dared to utter againſt my honour, and likewiſe on account of the truſt which I had, that beſides all theſe points, you would conſider that they being baniſhed for their crimes committed againſt me, at your requeſt I recalled theſe ungrateful ſubjects and replaced them in their firſt Eſtate to my detriment and prejudice as now appears; if then out of reſpect to you I have done that which has cauſed my ruin, at leaſt too nearly ſo, may not I juſtly have recourſe to that (*you*) which without any evil intention has cauſed the damage, in order to rectify and amend this error which has followed from (*that cauſe.*) I have diſpatched

patched my Lord Herries, my faithful and well beloved ſubject to inform you at length of all thoſe things, and of others concerning which I have underſtood by Meſſieurs Scroop and Knolles that you are in doubt; beſeeching you to believe him as you would myſelf, and immediately to give a decided anſwer to me in writing, whether it be agreeable to you that with ſpeed and without ceremony I may come to you, where more particularly I ſhall relate the truth to you of all that has happened to me, (in oppoſition to their lies,) which I truſt you will take pleaſure to hear, as you have been pleaſed to write me, and in the mean time (as I ſaid above) to aſſure me by your Letters that you will take my juſt cauſe into your hands, in order to repone me in the Eſtate to which it has pleaſed God to call me, and which all Princes are bound to maintain and to ſecure to one another.

I ſhall ſend, in this caſe, my Couſin Lord Fleming a faithful ſubject to France, (being certified as to your aid in this matter,) to thank the King my good brother for his offers and good offices which I ſhall reſerve to another time, if I have need of them, as all Princes often have from one another, contenting myſelf with your aid and ſupport, for which I ſhall feel myſelf not a little obliged during all my life to be grateful, in every thing that ſhall be in my power. If on the contrary (you ſhall refuſe) which I

aſſure

aſſure myſelf will not proceed from you, but from certain others actuated by other motives which I cannot and will not judge of, at leaſt I aſſure myſelf that you will permit me, as I have come voluntarily to throw myſelf into your arms as my principal friend, upon your refuſal to apply to other Princes and Friends my allies, to ſuccour me in the way that ſhall appear moſt advantageous to me, without, in any thing your being injured nor the ancient friendſhip ſworn between us two; and whichever of the two ſhall be agreeable to you, will be welcome to me, although the one is more agreeable to me than the other. For thank God, I am not ſo deſtitute of good friends or neighbours in my ſo juſt cauſe, but on the contrary nothing tends to hurt me but the delay, which to ſpeak freely to you, as you do to me, I have already found ſomewhat harſh and ſtrange; ſeeing I have frankly come into your country without making any terms, but on the contrary truſting to your friendſhip promiſed by your frequent letters, and having remained as a detained priſoner in your Caſtle fifteen days waiting for the arrival of your Counſellors, I have not obtained permiſſion to go to you to lament over my cauſe, as my confidence in you was ſuch, that I only aſked to go to you, to make you underſtand my grievances, according to truth. Now I beſeech you, conſider of what importance

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my long remaining (*here*) is to me; and that you may not be the cauſe of my ruin, which God be thanked is not otherwiſe ſo evident, make me to know in effect, the ſincerity of your natural affection to your good Siſter and Couſin, and ſworn friend. Recollect that I have kept my promiſe: I ſent you my heart in a ring, and I have brought you the true heart and my body with it, the more ſurely to tye this knot if you do not object to it. Now, that I may not wrongfully diſtruſt the ſufficiency of this bearer, to whom you may give credit as to me, I will not trouble you with ſaying more, but to preſent my affectionate recommendations to your good Grace, and to pray God to grant you Madam, a long and happy life in health." From Carliſle this 28th of May 1568.

Your very faithful and
obliged Couſin and Siſter,

MARIE R.

Poſtſcript. " I have ſince writing my letter received certain advice, that theſe gentlemen who call themſelves Regents and Governors, have iſſued their proclamations for ſeizing and deſtroying all the houſes of people of eminence, and for apprehending their perſons; from this you can judge, how far the time which I have let ſlip is hurtful to me.

me. Therefore I beſeech you, if, (at leaſt as I promiſe myſelf,) you have a regard for my good and for this poor kingdom, that you would deſire theſe Gentlemen, no longer by violent means to haraſs my good ſubjects. If you are diſpoſed to interfere and to ſupport my juſt cauſe, this bearer will tell you the neceſſity for it, more at length. I ſhall pray God that he may have you in his keeping. I muſt not forget beſides to thank you for the good reception which I have had in your country, and principally from Mr Lauder the Deputy of your Warden of the Marches, who, as far as a ſervant can, without the expreſs order of his maſter, has received me with all courteſy. This I beg you will let him ſee is agreeable to you, that others may not have a pretext to treat me differently."

NUMBER XIII. Queen Mary to Secretary Cecil.

(*An original, from the French; Anderſon, IV.* 51.)

" Mr Cecil, the equity of which you have the name to be a lover, and the faithful and ſincere ſervice which you perform to the Queen my good Siſter, and conſequently to all thoſe who are of her blood and of equal dignity, make me in my juſt cauſe, above all others to addreſs you, at this time of my ca-

lamity in order to be aſſiſted by your good council, which I have commanded Lord Herries, the preſent bearer, to make known to you at length; relying upon whom, after recommending myſelf to your wife and to you, I ſhall pray God to have you in his holy keeping." From Carliſle this 29th of May 1568.

Your very good friend,

MARIE R.

From the above two letters to Queen Elizabeth, wholly in Queen Mary's hand, we have an indiſputed ſpecimen of her particular ſtyle, and mode of writing. When we compare them with other letters not in her own hand, or where we are not told whether they are in her own hand or not, we can perceive little or no odds, however, as to the ſtyle and manner. From which we are led to conclude that almoſt all writings whatever in her name, even thoſe of a public and official nature, were dictated by herſelf: A circumſtance which diſplays her induſtry and the great compaſs of her attention.

In thoſe letters above, and many others to the Engliſh Queen ſhe expreſſes the moſt eager deſire to be admitted into her preſence, on purpoſe to unburthen her mind more freely; and in the letter which follows, of the 13th June 1568, ſhe ſays there were certain

tain particulars which ſhe would not communicate, but by word of mouth. I have always conjectured, that ſhe meant in that caſe, to throw herſelf into the arms of Elizabeth, bind her to ſecreſy, and reveal the whole truth, as to the murder of Darnly and her marriage with Bothwell. How far this would have operated upon the Engliſh Queen, is extremely doubtful. The letters ſhe wrote her, one ſhould think were ſufficient to melt the heart of any human being; but they had no effect upon Queen Elizabeth.

NUMBER XIV. Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(*From the French; Anderſon, III.* 94, *&c.*)

" Madam, my good Siſter, I thank you for the deſire which you have to hear the juſtification of my honour, which ought to be a matter of concern to all Princes, and much more to you, as I have the honour to be ſo near to you in blood; but it appears to me that they who perſuade you that my reception will turn to your diſhonour, maintain the contrary. But alas! Madam, where heard you ever of a Prince blamed for hearing, in perſon, the complaints of thoſe who repreſent that they are falſely accuſed? Do not allow yourſelf to think Madam, that I am

come here for the ſafety of my life, (neither the world nor Scotland at large have renounced me), but to recover my honour, and to be enabled to chaſtize my falſe accuſers; not to anſwer, them as if I were their equal, for I know that they ought not to be ſtated againſt their Sovereign; but to accuſe them before you, whom I have choſen out of all other Princes as my neareſt relation and perfect friend; doing you, as I thought, the honour to be named the reſtorer of a Queen who expected to derive this benefit from you; aſcribing the honour and the kindneſs of it to you all my life; making you beſides clearly to know my innocence, and how falſely they have practiſed againſt me. I ſee to my great regret that this is interpreted otherwiſe. And as to what you ſay, that you are counſelled by perſons of great rank, to be upon your guard, in this affair, God forbid, that I ſhould be the cauſe of your diſhonour; in place of which I intended to ſtudy the contrary. Therefore, if you pleaſe, ſince my affairs require ſo great haſte, ſee if other Princes will do the ſame; and in that caſe, you will not be blamed. Permit me to ſeek for thoſe, who will receive me without this dread, and take what ſecurity from me you ſhall pleaſe, (ſhould I have afterwards to put myſelf into your hands, a thing which I imagine, you will not deſire) That being replaced in my rank, my honour reſtored, and

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all ſtrangers out of the country, I ſhall come to explain my cauſe to you and juſtify myſelf for the ſake of my honour, and for the friendſhip which I bear to you,—not that I am to ſubject myſelf to anſwer to falſe ſubjects, or that you are to ſend for me without giving me credit, as it ſeems you do to thoſe who are not worthy of it. Show me your favour and aid in the firſt place; and afterward you ſhall ſee if I be worthy of it; if you find I am not, and that my demands are unjuſt, or to your prejudice or to your diſhonour, it will be time enough then to free yourſelf of me, and to leave me to purſue my fortune without troubling you: for being innocent, as thank God I feel myſelf, do not do me wrong in detaining me here, come out of one priſon as if into another, thereby encouraging my falſe enemies, to continue in their obſtinate lies, and inſpiring terror into my friends; delaying beſides their promiſed aid, if I ſhould employ them. I have every perſon of character upon my ſide, and by a delay I might loſe them, or they might attach themſelves to others; from which, there would be in fact a new victory gained over me.

I have from love to you, pardoned thoſe who at preſent ſeek my ruin, with which I can charge you before God; and I fear moreover, that your delay will loſe me the reſt of my friends. Excuſe me, my intereſt

is concerned, I muſt ſpeak to you without diſſimulation, you receive a baſtard brother of mine, a fugitive, into your preſence, and you refuſe that preſence to me, from which I perſuade myſelf, that it will be ſo much the more put off, that my cauſe is juſt. For it is the reſource of a bad cauſe, to keep the mouth of its defenders ſhut; for I know it was the commiſſion of John Wood to procure this delay, as their more certain remedy, upon an unjuſt quarrel and uſurpation of authority. I therefore beg of you to aſſiſt me, and I ſhall hold myſelf obliged to you for every thing; or be neutral, and permit me to ſeek for better, elſewhere; by protracting longer my affairs, you ruin me more than my enemies do. If you fear blame, at leaſt, from the confidence which I have in you, I beg you neither to act for me, nor againſt me. Leave me to myſelf to regain my honour, when left at liberty; for here, I neither can nor will anſwer to their falſe accuſations; but only from friendſhip and not pleaſure, I would juſtify myſelf to you as a mere voluntary act, not in form of proceſs againſt my ſubjects, unleſs their hands were tied. Madam, they and I, are in no reſpect, equals; and as to my treating with them here as ſuch, ſooner ſhall I die than do it.

But deſiſting from ſaying more, as your good Siſter, I will beg of you, for your honour, without farther delay, to ſend back my Lord

Lord Herries, with aſſurance that you will aſſiſt me agreeable to what he has requeſted on my part. For I have no anſwer as to that, from you nor from him, nor your licence avowed. I beg of you alſo, ſeeing I have put myſelf into your hands, where I have been already ſo long put off without having any ſecurity, to command my Lord Scroop to permit my ſubjects, to the number of one, two or three, to have liberty to come and return, that I may not loſe all intelligence of my ſubjects (*in Scotland*); otherwiſe, this would be to cut off, both me and my defences. Would to God, you could have known in few words what I intended to ſay; I would not have detained you ſo long, as I blame you in nothing as to this plot againſt me. But I hope, in place of their ſpecious offers, and falſe coloured diſcourſes, you will find me a more advantageous friend then they can be to you. I will ſay nothing in particular, but by word of mouth; therefore I ſhall conclude with my humble recommendations to your good grace, praying God to grant to you, Madam my good Siſter, a happy and long life in good health." From *Carliſle* this 13th of June (1568).

Your very good Siſter and Couſin

MARIE R.

NUMBER XV. Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.

(*An Original, from the French; Haynes*, 465.)

"Madam, my good Sister, This gentleman, the present bearer, having come with a commission from the King of France, my good brother, to know the truth of my situation, and how I am treated in your kingdom, I am sorry that I have so little reason to praise the behaviour of your ministers, for of you I cannot and will not complain; and so much the less, as I have understood (besides the copy of the letter you have written by Middlemore to my bastard brother) by my Lord Herries, that you have sent for my said evil subject, to render you an account of his unjust proceedings. But what has followed? Middlemore sent for the protection of my faithful subjects, suffered, in his presence, not merely a refusal of your request which could have bound them; but in his presence they have destroyed the house of a principal Baron; and he (*Middlemore*) took no offence at this event. What offices he discharges I know not, but all my subjects say they have been worse treated since his coming. They (*my enemies*) go farther, and boast they are authorised by him; and in executing their attempt, which tends to the conquest

conqueſt of my kingdom, they amuſe you with the hope of giving you a proof of their falſe calumnies. The inequality of the treatment which I receive, ought to excite fears in me, if my innocence and the truſt which I have in God, who has hitherto preſerved me, did not give me confidence. For conſider, Madam, they have the authority which belongs to me, the uſurped power, my treaſures for the purpoſe of corruption, and your miniſters, who daily, at leaſt ſome of them, write to them, and give them ſuch counſel as may ſatisfy you. Would to God you knew, what I know of this! As to me, I am kept as a priſoner, diſhonoured by the refuſal of your preſence: They, have arms in their hands. I beſeech you, ſince you ſee what are the conſequences, do not make an unequal combat; they armed, and I abandoned. But on the contrary, certify this gentleman, if you pleaſe, as you ſee the diſhonour they do to you, that you are to aſſiſt me, or to permit me to depart; for without waiting longer till they make a third aſſault upon me, I muſt ſupplicate the King of France and of Spain, if you will take no concern to take intereſt in my juſt cauſe; and when I am reinſtated, I ſhall make you acquainted with their falſehood and my innocence. For to permit them to conquer the country, and then to come to accuſe me, what ſhould I gain by ſubmitting myſelf to you? Is it a

proof

proof of their juſtice, that they proceed without anſwering to what they are interrogated upon? Judge, Madam, according as God has given you an underſtanding above others, and not according to the counſel of thoſe who are partial. I blame no body; but a worm of the earth, feels when it is trod upon, how much more a royal heart, &c." From Carliſle this 21ſt of June (1568).

Your very good Siſter,

MARIE R.

NUMBER XVI. Queen Mary to Charles IX. King of France.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 510.)

" My good Brother, Seeing contrary to my expectation, that the partialities of this Queen, at leaſt of her council, occaſion a longer ſtay to me here than I deſired, if it does not pleaſe you to prevent it, as you will ſee by the advice of M. de Montmorin: And that I am afraid of being more ſtrictly guarded for the future, which would put it out of my power to adverti ſe you particularly of the preſent and paſt ſtate for thirteen months, as well of my country as of myſelf; and ſeeing that I ſent Lord Fleming for this purpoſe, but who could not obtain leave to go

go beyond London: I have diſpatched (*George*) Douglas the preſent bearer, to report to you at length what has happened ſince, and to give you an account of my impriſonment, my eſcape, and my retreat into this country, and what I have underſtood has been done of late in my country; particularly beſeeching you to give credit to him as to me, for he gave a proof to me of his being a faithful ſervant, having taken me out of the hands of our mortal enemies, at the riſk of his own life and loſs of his neareſt relations. And as he deſires, (as far as he can, to continue his ſervice to me as he began to do) to remain for a time in your court, to wait for the remedy which you will furniſh to my misfortunes, I beſeech you to give him ſome token or aſſurance, to let him know that he has done you a ſervice in ſaving my life. I will anſwer for his fidelity. He is under the neceſſity of ſeeking for a livelihood in France, for he may well give up his intereſt in Scotland, if I am not entirely the miſtreſs of it. I am afraid if I do not receive more favour here, I ſhall be conſtrained to ſend you others (*ſervants*) for the ſame end, but not one who has done me ſo good and important a ſervice. I beſeech you alſo to conſider Beaton as recommended to your favour, as they owe him a grudge for being (as they ſay) the tool of a party; and poor Lord Seatoun, whoſe life they threaten to take away for the ſame thing.

thing.—This bearer who will tell you as much as I could write, will make me conclude with my commendations to your good grace; praying God to grant you, Sir, my brother, a long and happy life in health." From Carliſle this 26th of June (1568).

Your very good Siſter,

MARIE.

This letter is valuable, from the particular view which it gives us, of the generous and warm intereſt, which Queen Mary took, in the forlorn affairs of her friends and dependents. It is from ſuch a letter as this, that we ſee her heart; and it is no more but acting fairly and doing juſtice to her, that it is inſerted in this appendix, whoſe object is to lay her ſpirit, feelings and character, whatever they were, as well as her ſtyle, before the reader.

NUMBER XVII. Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(*From the old Engliſh; Principal Robertſon*, 462.)

" Madam, (*what follows in the beginning of this letter I omit, as being a repetition of what is contained in ſome of the foregoing letters*) do with

with my body as you will, the honour or blame ſhall be your's. For I had rather die here, and that my faithful ſervants may be ſuccoured (though you incline not ſo) by ſtrangers, than to ſuffer them to be utterly undone, upon the hope of receiving (*from you*) in time to come, any particular favour. There are many things which induce me to fear, that I ſhall have to do, in this country, with others than with you. But as nothing has followed upon my laſt complaint, I hold my peace, happen what may. I am as ready to endure my fortune, as to ſeek for a remedy, and not find it. Farther, you were pleaſed, to allow my ſubjects to go and come to me. This has been refuſed by my Lord Scroop and Mr Knollis, as is ſaid, by your order; becauſe I would not go elſewhere to meet your trial, till I had an anſwer to this letter; though I ſhewed them that you required my anſwer upon the two points contained in your letter.

The one is, to let you briefly underſtand, I have come to you, to make you my complaint; upon hearing of which I would declare to you my innocence, and then require your aid; and failing in this, I have nothing left but to make my lamentation and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my juſt cauſe; and to appeal to other princes to take it into conſideration as my caſe requires; and to you Madam, firſt of all, when you

you ſhall have examined your conſcience before him, and have him for a witneſs. And the other, which is to come farther into your country, and not to come to your preſence; I will eſteem that as no favour; but will take it for the contrary, obeying it as a thing forced. In the mean time, I beſeech you, to return to me my Lord Herries, as I cannot want him, having none of my council here; and alſo to ſuffer me, if it pleaſe you, without farther delay, to depart hence whitherſoever it be, out of this country. I am ſure you will not deny me this ſimple requeſt for your honour's ſake; as you are not pleaſed to ſhow your natural goodneſs to me in other reſpects; and as of my own accord, I came here, let me depart again, with your's. If God permit my affairs to proſper, I ſhall be obliged to you; if otherwiſe, I cannot blame you. With reſpect to my Lord Fleming, as upon my credit you have ſuffered him to go home, I engage he ſhall go no farther (*where elſe*), but ſhall return when it ſhall pleaſe you. In that you truſt me, I will not (to die for it) deceive you. But for Dunbarton I answer not when my Lord Fleming ſhall be [illegible] the tower; for they who are within it will not forbear to receive ſuccour, if I do not affront them of your's; no, though you would charge me with this (*to forbid them*) for I left it in charge to them, to have more reſpect to my ſervants and to my eſtate,

ſtate, than to my life. Good Siſter, be of another mind; won the heart, and all ſhall be your's, and at your command. I thought to ſatisfy you wholly, if I might have ſeen you. Alas! do not as the ſerpent, who ſtops his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your Siſter and natural Couſin. If Cæſar had not diſdained to hear or read the complaint (*warning*) of an informer, he would not have died as he did. Why ſhould princes ears be ſtopped, ſeeing that they are painted ſo long! meaning that they ſhould hear all and be well adviſed, before they anſwer. I am not of the nature of the baſiliſk, and leſs of the camelion, to turn you to my likeneſs; and though I ſhould be ſo dangerous and curſed as men ſay, you are ſufficiently armed with conſtancy and with juſtice; which I pray God to give you grace to uſe well, with a long and happy life." From Carliſle the 5th of July 1568.

The boldneſs in this letter, and the irony and deriſion that break out in it, lead us to conceive how ſhe would have written, had her ſituation been different.

NUMBER XVIII. Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.

(*An original, from the French; Haynes*, 469.)

" Madam, I have received ſuch evidence as to the doubt I was in, of the partial favour of your Miniſters towards my enemies, that I am, in place of being, as I thought in ſafety, in more danger; for I have ſeen the letters of John Wood, where he admoniſhes, agreeably as he ſays to the counſel which Middlemore gave him from Throkmorton, Cecil and ſome others, to proſecute my ſervants with all extremity, and not to deſiſt on your account who beg the contrary; and at the ſame time, to deceive them, by aſſurances of their favour. My mother-in-law the Counteſs of Lennox writes the ſame, and her huſband alſo, to uſe all diligence to accuſe me. She is wrong: It is not merely now ſince ſhe has become ſo wrongfully my enemy, that ſhe has a bad opinion of Queens. When it ſhall pleaſe you, I will give her proofs of it, in your preſence. As to the reſt, they aſſure that I ſhall certainly be prevented from ever returning to Scotland. Madam, if this be honeſtly to treat thoſe who have thrown themſelves into your arms for ſupport, I leave all Princes to judge. I have ſhewn all the packets to this bearer,

of

of which I ſhall ſend a double, if you pleaſe to permit me, to the Kings of Spain and France and to the Emperor; and ſhall command Lord Herries to ſhew you them, in order to judge, if it be good for me to take your council for my judges, who ſet themſelves as parties againſt me.. I will not believe, that they would do you this diſhonour, but that this villain (*perhaps John Wood*) lies upon them, as all they do, who are of his profeſſion. It is unjuſt, that your preſence ſhould be refuſed to me, and that my mother-in-law, and others whom I did not think to be my enemies are near you to hurt me, and accuſe me in my (*your*) preſence. I beſeech you not to let me be deceived here to your diſhonour. Give me leave to retire; to make Princes my Judges, and to have their conduct and ſupport, as my enemies have your counſel. And God forbid they (*my enemies*) ſhould leſſen your authority, as they promiſe to themſelves, to lead you where they ſhall pleaſe, in order to loſe the friendſhip of all other Princes, and to gain that of thoſe, who ſay aloud that you are not worthy to reign. If I could ſpeak with you, you would repent of having ſo long put me off. I now pray God, to prevent you from giving an example to my hurt, in the firſt place; and to your prejudice, in the ſecond."

Your very good Siſter,

MARIE R.

(Written it ſhould ſeem, on July 29. 1568).

NUMBER XIX. Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.

(*An original, from the French; Haynes*, 470.)

"Madam, I received yeſterday with great regret, a letter from you, as I ſee you have underſtood mine otherwiſe than I ever intended. I acknowledge, that not having any certainty of your good will to me, I wrote you too freely, when I did not proteſt (*beſeech*) that you would pardon me, when I appealed to you, againſt yourſelf. God be my judge, if ever I have been ungrateful to you; if I have not been ſenſible of your good offices. But to thoſe who are anxious, ſuffering makes them fail much in reſpect; as I have often accuſed myſelf. But you have taken it too ill of one, who has choſen you out of all others living, to give up herſelf and all ſhe has, into your hands. If I have offended you, I am here, to make amends for it at your diſcretion: But if you ſhould injure me, I have nobody but the Queen of England to complain to, of my good ſiſter and couſin, who accuſes me of flying from the light. And if it come to the worſt, I have offered you Weſtminſterhall; but I ſee well what you ſay is true; you are of the nature of the lion, who chooſes to compel love, and to have the honour and credit of it; acting the counterfeit

counterfeit when you are in anger. Well, I give it (*my love*) you; I accept of you as the great lion; acknowledge me to be ſecond of the ſame race. Now, I have put every thing into your hands: Do for me in ſuch a manner that I may be of ſervice to you, being grateful for it; and I will make you unſay that I am ungrateful, for I ſhall willingly prefer you to all perſons in the world. I have now received another letter from you, where I ſee your anger has not made you forget your good natural diſpoſition. Madam, do not ſlightly take up a bad opinion of me: You will do what is wrong: You will acknowledge it. I am well pleaſed that you think it good, I ſhould communicate with your Vice-chamberlain, which I ſhall do freely, aſſuring myſelf that what I ſhall ſay to him will be kept ſecret, unleſs to you and thoſe whom you will pleaſe to chooſe to communicate my affairs to you. Yeſterday I ſent you Borthwick with the news I received from Scotland, and to beg your ſpeedy anſwer, if I ſhall give my friends ſecurity for laying down their arms; for otherwiſe, if others do not, and mine do, they would be ruined; and mine are ready on the 10th of this month.—Now you ſee, that I hold you higher than you thought; for on your word, all I have ſhall obey you without diſſimulation. I know not if others have done, or will do as much, unleſs neceſſity conſtrain them.

Now, I will not reckon with you. Forget the paſt, if I have miſtaken myſelf; and accept my good will, and oblige me ſo much that I cannot requite you; for I will do you the honour as to my eldeſt ſiſter; and beſeech you, if I have put myſelf in one point out of your good grace by a paſſionate letter, that you reſtore it to me for two others, —my generoſity and my good will," &c. Bolton, Auguſt 7. 1568.

Your very good Siſter and Couſin,

MARIE R.

The ingenuity and ability diſcovered here by this miſerable Queen, and the diſſimulation and blandiſhments inſpired by her afflicted ſtate, can eſcape no reader whatever.

NUMBER XX. The Queen of Scots to ——

(*From the Scottiſh; Haynes*, 503.)

" As to the ſtate of my affairs, I have no doubt you have underſtood, that at the convention at York, my rebels were confounded in all they could allege for colouring their inſurrection and my impriſonment. Perceiving this, they made ſuch an impreſſion upon ſome of the Queen of England's miniſters, that againſt her promiſe, ſhe has admitted

mitted them into her preſence; and ſhe, to colour this, ſaid ſhe wiſhed herſelf to underſtand the continuation of this conference, that it might be more promptly ended, with ſome happy iſſue to my honour and ſatisfaction; and therefore deſired, that ſome of my commiſſioners might go to her immediately. But the after proceedings have ſhewn that this was not the mark ſhe ſhot at, for my affairs have been prolonged and delayed, while, in the mean time, my rebels have practiſed ſecretly with her and her miniſters. So they have agreed and ſettled, that my ſon ſhould be delivered into her hands to be educated in this country as ſhe ſhall think good. Likewiſe, declaring him to be fit to ſucceed after her death, in caſe ſhe had no ſucceſſion of her body; and for her ſecurity the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling ſhall be in the keeping of Engliſhmen, at the Queen of England's expenſe. And likewiſe at her expenſe, and with the concurrence of the Earl of Murray, the caſtle of Dunbarton ſhall be beſieged, and delivered up to the Queen of England's behoof and keeping. Providing theſe premiſſes be ſecured, ſhe has promiſed to ſupport and maintain the Earl of Murray in the uſurpation of my authority, and cauſe him to be declared lawful to ſucceed to the Crown of Scotland after the deceaſe of my ſon, in caſe he die without children of his body; and in this caſe the Earl

of Murray ſhall acknowledge that he holds the realm of Scotland in feu of the Queen of England. Thus, all the equity of my cauſe, the cogniſance of which I truſted to the Queen of England, has been renounced and miſerably ſold for the ruin of my realm, unleſs that God and good Scottiſh hearts of my ſubjects do not remedy the ſame. Yet this is not all; there is another league and intelligence between the Earl of Murray and the Earl of Hartford, who is to marry one of Secretary Cecil's daughters, who draws out all their ſchemes. By which taking place, the Earls of Murray and Hartford are to meet and fortify one another in the ſucceſſion, that each of them pretends on his own ſide; that is to ſay, the Earl of Murray on the ſide of my realm, on account of the ſaid legitimation, and the Earl of Hartford on the ſide of England, on account of the late Lady Catharine, by whom he had two children; ſo they will be both bent on my Son's death, who being out of my ſubjects hands, what can I hope for but a lamentable Tragedy? Theſe things are concluded among the chiefs of my Rebels, and the ancient and natural enemies of my Realm; and there remains nothing now, but the means to eſtabliſh and ſecure the Earl of Murray in his uſurpation. To begin the ſame, they would have perſuaded me by craft to have freely reſigned my Crown, and conſented to the Regency of the Earl of Murray;

and

and to have cauſed me to condeſcend to any ſuch unfortunate meaſure, there has been uſed all craft and boaſting that has been poſſible, with fair promiſes. But ſeeing I was reſolved to do nothing in this to their advantage, the Queen of England named new Commiſſioners with them that were already deputed, in the number of which, was the ſaid Traitor and others of his faction; and did not permit me to go thither to declare my own reaſons, which they would have permitted, in the conference. Which being broken, for * * * * * * that the Queen of England has made of her promiſe, which was, Not to permit the Earl of Murray to come into her preſence after the conference were ended; and moreover there ſhould be nothing done to the prejudice of my Honour, Government, or Right, that I may have in this country after her; My ſaid Commiſſioners left the conference the ſixth of this month with ſolemn proteſtations, that all which ſhould be done in them, to the prejudice of me in any ſort, ſhould be null and of no effect nor virtue; and upon this, are minded to come away as ſoon as poſſible; of which I thought good to advertiſe you, that you may underſtand the truth of the matter, and inform our friends of the ſame. I pray you aſſemble our friends my ſubjects, as I have written to my Lord of Argyle and Huntly, to haſte to your relief, giving all obſtruction and moleſtation

leſtation that you can to the ſaid Rebels, and ſtopping their return home if it be poſſible; for they will be ready before you, if you make not haſte. So you being all aſſembled together in Convention, not fearing that I ſhall ſtop or forbid your proceedings as I did the laſt time, you ſhall declare and ſhow publicly by open proclamation the foreſaid conſpiracy and treaſon, which the ſaid Rebels have conſpired againſt the Weal of the Kingdom of Scotland, intending to put the ſame in execution, to the deſtruction of it, if they be not ſtopped in due time," *&c.*

This letter appears to have been written about the end of December 1568. It was intercepted, and ſent to the Earl of Murray, about the 18th of January 1569.

NUMBER XXI. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

(From the Old Engliſh; Murdin, 158.)

" You ſhould have been informed of Candiſh's anſwer; but it was forgotten, as you ſhall hear. The Biſhop of Roſs ſhall receive it preſently by this meſſenger, who is more willing to carry his meſſage, than cloſe in keeping it from others. Therefore, take care it do no harm, for it has been ſpoken of

to

to many, and to his friends. I ſpoke but little with him, and confined myſelf to thanks to Leiceſter; for the Earl of Shrewſbury is afraid of letting me ſpeak with him, leſt he ſhould tell it again. Conſider what ought to be amended in Leiceſter's anſwer. I have received, this Sunday, your letters, and think myſelf more and more indebted to you, eſpecially for your concern for my health, which is not very good at this time, as this meſſenger will ſhew you; but I ſhall, at your perſuaſion, endeavour to recover it again. I ſhall write to Scotland, as you adviſe me. I have taken ſome medicine to-day, and have a little fit of an ague, from the pain in my ſide; on account of which, I will pray you to excuſe me for not writing at greater length. I have fully anſwered the Biſhop of Roſs's Letters. I truſt you will conſider them well, and as ſimply (*candidly*) as they are meant. And ſo I pray God to preſerve and proſper you in all your affairs." This Sunday at night.

The above letter, ſeems to have been written upon the occaſion of Mr Candiſh's being ſent in May 1569 by the Engliſh Nobility to Queen Mary, to lay ſeveral articles before her; among which, was a propoſal that ſhe ſhould accept of the Duke of Norfolk in marriage. They wrote letters to her full of the praiſes of Norfolk, earneſtly perſuading her

her to the marriage, and not doubting that the Queen of England would be induced to approve of it. This project having been ſuggeſted to Norfolk in October or November of the preceding year, who eagerly cloſed with it, we may believe a correſpondence had taken place between the Queen and him; and that ſhe was prepared for thoſe diſpatches of the Engliſh Nobility, which were carried by Candiſh. Her anſwer upon that article was full of propriety: "She had been ſo vexed by her former marriages, ſhe ſaid, as to make her have no thought of any other, but rather was diſpoſed to live a ſolitary life all her days. Yet nevertheleſs, if all other things were agreed upon and concluded to her ſatisfaction, ſhe was willing to be adviſed by the Queen and Nobility of England upon the ſubject of marriage, and eſpecially in favour of the Duke of Norfolk, whom ſhe eſteemed the better, for his being well reported of, and beloved by the Nobility and Eſtates of his country." Leſlie's Negociations, 53.

The Duke of Norfolk having been committed to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth in the beginning of October 1569, on account of aiming at that marriage, remained there for above nine months; when he was at laſt ſet at liberty, upon promiſing never more to think of it. It was during the courſe of that impriſonment, that the following five letters, publiſhed

publiſhed by the Editor of Hardwicke's State Papers, were written to him by Queen Mary.

NUMBER XXII. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

(*From the old Engliſh; Hardwicke's State Papers*, I. 190.)

" My own Lord, I wrote to you before, to know your pleaſure, if I ſhould make any attempt; if that pleaſe you, I care not for my danger, but I could wiſh you would attempt the like; for if you and I both could eſcape, we ſhould find friends enow; and for your lands, I hope they ſhould not be loſt; for, we being free, and honourably united together, you might make ſuch good offers to the country and to the Queen of England, as they ſhould not refuſe. Our fault, (*in making the eſcape, and joining company with one another*), could not be a matter of ſhame; you have promiſed to be mine, and I your's; I believe the Queen of England and the country would be pleaſed with this. By the good offices of friends, therefore, your meaning could be explained, That you ſought your liberty, and the ſatisfaction of your conſcience; as you promiſed me you could not relinquiſh me. If you think the danger great,

great, do as you think beſt, and let me know what you pleaſe that I ſhould do; for I will ever be, for your ſake, either a perpetual priſoner, or put my life in danger for your good and mine. As you pleaſe, command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, provided you are not endangered on my account, in ſo doing. I will either, if I were out (*of the kingdom*), by humble ſubmiſſion, and although all my friends were againſt it; or, by other means, exert myſelf for our liberties ſo long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, as I hear no news from you. I pray God preſerve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends." This laſt of January, (1569.)

Your own, faithful to death,

QUEEN of SCOTS, My Norfolk.

NUMBER XXIII. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

(*From the old Engliſh; Hardwicke*, I. 191.)

"My own good Lord, I have forborn this long time to write you, on account of my danger from writing, which you ſeemed to fear; but I muſt remind you of your own, at times, as occaſion ſerves; and let you know the

the continuance of my truth to you, which I ſee by this laſt, ſeems to be much ſuſpected. But, if you have no fears on your part, I will die and live with you. Your fortune ſhall be mine; therefore let me know, in all things, your mind. The Biſhop of Roſs writes to me that I ſhould make offer to the Queen of England now in my letters which I write, in general terms, to her; as (*be found*) I would enter into nothing (*particularly*) till I knew your pleaſure, which I ſhall now follow: I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke, at which I am heartily ſorry; but let that nor no other matter, trouble you to the heart; otherwiſe you will give up all your friends and me; for whoſe cauſe you have done ſo much already, that I truſt you will preſerve yourſelf to a happier meeting, in ſpite of all ſuch jeerers; as to which I ſuſpect Huntington, for ſuch kind of talk. But notwithſtanding all their ſayings, I truſt in God, you will be ſatisfied with my proffers behaviour and faithful duty to you, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God that I be with you, as I hope for my part the maker ſhall never have the pleaſure to ſee, or hear my repentance or diſcontent at it. I have prayed God to preſerve you, and grant us both his grace; and then let them, as revilers, ſmart. So I end with the humble and very hearty commendations to you, of your own faithful to death." This 19th of March.

NUM-

NUMBER XXIV. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

(*From the old Engliſh; Hardwicke, I.* 192.)

" I have received, my own good conſtant Lord, your comfortable letters, which are to me as welcome as ever any thing was, on account of the hopes I ſee you are in, to have ſome better fortune than you have had yet, through the favour of all your friends. And although the condition of my friends in Scotland gives me great diſpleaſure, yet this is nothing to the fear I had of my ſon's being delivered up to Queen Elizabeth, and to thoſe whom I thought would occaſion a longer delay of your affairs. And therefore, I was more vexed, than I have been formerly, and that has a little hurt my health. For the Earl Shrewſbury came one night very merry to me, ſhewing that the Earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was ſurrendered to the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Lieutenant of the North, which I have found ſince to be falſe; but, at the moment, ſuch concern for my friends overwhelmed me, that I wept ſo, that I was all ſwelled for three days after. But ſince I have heard from you I have gone abroad and endeavoured by all means to avoid grief through fear for you; but it is neceſſary for me to take care of my health,

health, as the Earl of Shrewſbury guards me ſtrictly, and as peſtilential diſorders are in other places. The Earl of Shrewſbury expects Bateman will be inſtructed how to deal with me, becauſe he is the ableſt, and is altogether detached from the Earl of Leiceſter; this I aſſure you of, and pray keep it ſecret. I have little time, and I truſt to write by one of my gentlemen ſoon and more ſafely. I pray you think, and hold me in your grace, as your own; who daily ſhall pray to God to ſend you a happy and ſpeedy deliverance out of all troubles, not doubting, that you would not in that caſe enjoy alone all your felicities, nor that you would fail to remember, her who is your own faithful to death, who ſhall have no ſucceſs or reſt without you. And ſo I ceaſe to trouble you, but commend you to God." This 17th day of May.

Your own QUEEN.

NUMBER XXV. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

(*From the old Engliſh; Hardwicke, I.* 193.)

" My good Lord, it has been no ſmall comfort to me, to find out at length, that by means of our truſty ſervant the Biſhop of Roſs,

Roſs, I might more fully ſpeak out in all matters, without danger of betraying, both for the better communicating intelligence (*by him*) of the State (*Court of England*) there, to me, and (*by me*) of my heart to him; but eſpecially for the ſake of freer correſpondence between us two; being means which I have declared (*to him*) I think of uſing in all things by your advice, either to conceal, as you pleaſe and ſhall beſt ſerve you; (for I will pay regard to that above all other things) or, to accept or refuſe whatever conditions you think for the welfare of both of us; for without your's, I will have none. And therefore, command him, as for yourſelf, and as your truſty ſervant; and believe him in every thing that he will aſſure you of in my name: That is in truth, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promiſed ſo long as I live; beſeeching you, if you are not, as you hoped you ſhould be, releaſed, not to be diſheartened, but ſeek the beſt remedy; and having amply communicated myſelf to him, I will not trouble you with ſpeaking more at length, but referring all to him, I will, after my hearty commendations to you, my good Lord, pray God to ſend you the deſire of your heart." From Chatſworth the 14th June.

Your own, faithful to death.

NUM-

Number XXVI. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

(From the old Engliſh; Hardwicke, I. 194.)

" Sunday I received from you what you wrote by Borthwick, from which I obſerve the ſatisfaction you have in my plain dealing with you, as is my duty to do. Conſidering how much I am indebted to you many ways, I am glad the proffer of my regard, is ſo agreeable to you. I know myſelf to be ſo unworthy, to be ſo well liked by one of ſuch wiſdom and good qualities, I think my good fortune in that, great, nay much greater, than my deſert. Therefore I ſhall conduct myſelf ſo, that ſo far as God ſhall give me grace, you ſhall never have cauſe to leſſen your good opinion and favour for me, as I ſhall eſteem and reſpect you in all my actions ſo long as I live, in the manner you would wiſh your own to do. Now, my good Lord, more words upon this point would be indelicate in my preſent condition, and troubleſome to you, in the midſt of ſo much buſineſs; but this, you may truſt, as written by one who acts unfeignedly. This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, from which I obſerve the concern you take in my my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his ſetting out *(from*

 you,)

you,) but I am not yet very ſtrong, nor free of the pain in my ſide. It makes me more ſad and penſive, than I would or need be, when I conſider the care you have of me, for which I will not thank you, as I have given up all my concerns to you, to manage as your own. I am to write to the Biſhop of Roſs, what I hear from the Duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands. Let me know your pleaſure at length in writing, as to what I ſhall anſwer. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you: That would be beyond my duty many ways. But I will beſeech you, not to adviſe me to bear patiently my own great ſorrows, unleſs you promiſe to me, to vex yourſelf no more for the death of your ward. I wiſh you had another in his room to make you happy, otherwiſe I wiſh he were out both of Scotland and England. You forbid me to write; but be aſſured I will think it no trouble, whenever my health will permit, but pleaſure; as alſo to receive your letters which I pray you to ſpare not, when you have leiſure and it is not troubleſome to you; for they ſhall come to no hand where they will be better received. The phyſicians write at large; they ſeem to love you wonderfully, and not to diſlike me. We had but general talk, and ſome of it, upon your affairs; but nobody was named; therefore I made no anſwer, and gave heed to it unconcernedly. When Borthwick goes up,

you

you ſhall underſtand all; in this (*letter*) it is unintelligible; meanwhile I muſt give you warning when I hear any thing which affects you. Argyle ſends me word expreſsly that when he met at Stirling with Murray the Regent of Scotland, he (*Murray*) aſſured him, I ſhould never come home, and that he had intelligence that he would be quit of me, and reminded him of his promiſes. Borthwick will write it to the Biſhop of Roſs and my Lord Fleming. Argyle beſeeched me, if you were my friend, to advertiſe you (*of this*) ſpeedily. Believe of this what pleaſes you; but I am ſure they will be traitors to you and me; and if they were in Turkey, you and I were never the worſe; but I will not be troubleſome. But, were this ſummer over, I hope for good, the reſt of the year. God preſerve you from all traitors and make your friends true and conſtant." From Wingfield late at night this 24th (*June*). Your aſſured,

MARY.

The above five letters of Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, are juſtly termed "political love-letters" by the Editor of Hardwick's State Papers. Probably ſhe had a very good opinion and an eſteem for the character of that Nobleman; and moſt undoubtedly, was actuated by the ſtrongeſt and moſt eager

deſire for the match with him, from various political conſiderations. On the other ſide, although Norfolk's ſuſpicions of the criminality of her conduct in the death of her late huſband ſeem to have been removed, firſt by Lethington, and afterward by the favourable accounts of her deportment and manners, conveyed to him by the Lady Scroop his Siſter, yet he was ſtill afraid, that upon recovering her liberty, her ſentiments in his favour might change. (Camden 420). He might apprehend that this Princeſs, would either not adhere to her agreement to marry him; or if ſhe did, that ſhe might afterward have but little affection for him, and even pay little regard to his counſel and authority. It appears from the above letters, that he had been actually jeered upon thoſe points. Beſides, he was a man, however upright and aſpiring enough; yet of a feeble and irreſolute ſpirit. Preciſely for ſuch a man, and for ſuch a ſituation, Queen Mary, whoſe addreſs and ſkill never failed her, framed theſe letters. She found herſelf obliged, to be conſtantly aſſuring him, that ſhe would ſubmit to his will, and continue forever her affection for him; and as a proof of this, ſhe takes frequent opportunities to declare how much he had bound her over to him, by his ſolicitude for her health and welfare. In one paſſage, ſhe hints at the indelicacy of writing ſo warmly in his favour.

As

As to expreſſing herſelf warmly however, nothing could be more natural and blameleſs. The match was lawful and reſpectable, on both ſides: It was ardently ſupported by the prime of the Engliſh Nobility; and generally acceptable to both nations: Elizabeth herſelf was expected to approve of it: The Queen of Scots and the Duke, were already pledged to one another: Expreſſions of mutual regard and tenderneſs, were ſuited to ſuch a ſituation: The correſpondence of the Queen with Norfolk, is hence, to be conſidered, nearly in the ſame light, as private letters from a wife to her huſband; in which much warmer terms would not only be juſtified, but applauded. No ſimilitude whatever, can hence be ſtated between her letters to Norfolk, and thoſe aſcribed to her, to Bothwell; the ſituations being oppoſite. Declarations of love to Norfolk were honourable: To Bothwell, infamous.

It is farther to be obſerved, that theſe letters were probably written by the Queen, in French. A verſion or "incorrect tranſcript" (as it is juſtly called) of them, into the old Engliſh, ſeems to have been made by ſome perſon totally unfit for the buſineſs. Little ſure reliance therefore can be had on that tranſcript; either as to particular words, or even to the meaning of ſentences.

Number XXVII. Queen Mary to the Counteſs of Lennox.

(*From the Scottiſh; Principal Robertſon*, 347.)

" Madam, If the wrong and falſe reports of rebels, enemies well known for traitors to you, and alas! too much truſted by me on your advice, had not ſo far ſtirred you againſt my innocence, (and I may ſay againſt all kindneſs, that you have not only as it were condemned me wrongfully, but ſo hated me, as ſome words and open deeds have teſtified to all the world, a manifeſt diſliking in you againſt your own blood) I would not have omitted thus long my duty in writing to you, excuſing me (*acquitting myſelf*) of thoſe untrue reports made of me. But hoping with God's grace, and time, to have my innocence known to you, as I truſt it is already to the moſt part of all indifferent (*neutral*) perſons, I thought it beſt not to trouble you for a time, till that ſuch a matter is moved that touches (*affects*) us both, which is the tranſporting your grandſon and my only child into this country. Upon which, although I am never ſo willing, I would be glad to have your advice in it, as in all other things touching him. I have born him, and God knows with what danger to him and me both; and from you, he is deſcended.

So

So I mean not to forget my duty to you, in ſhewing herein any unkindneſs to you, how unkindly ſoever you have dealt with me; but will love you as my aunt, and reſpect you as my mother-in-law. And if you pleaſe to know more of my mind in that and all other things between us, my Ambaſſador the Biſhop of Roſs ſhall be ready to converſe with you. So after my hearty commendations, referring you to my Ambaſſador, and your better conſideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God whom I pray to preſerve you and my brother Charles (*Earl of Lennox*), and cauſe you to know my part better than you do." From Chatſworth this 10th of July 1570.

Your natural good niece and loving daughter.

It may be proper to ſubjoin here, although not in the order of time, an extract from a letter of Queen Mary's to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow her Ambaſſador in France, written on the 2d of May 1578, near eight years after the date of the above.

" Lady Lennox my mother-in-law, died about a month ago. This good Lady was, thanks to God, very well reconciled to me theſe five or ſix years bygone that we have had correſpondence together; and ſhe has confeſſed to me by letters under her hand, which I carefully preſerve, the injury ſhe did me by the unjuſt purſuits, ſet on foot, as

ſhe made me to underſtand, by her conſent, through bad information; but principally, by the expreſs command of the Queen of England, and the perſuaſion of thoſe of her Council who had always obſtructed a good underſtanding between us. But as ſoon as ſhe knew of my innocence, ſhe deſiſted from any farther purſuit againſt me; nay went ſo far as entirely to refuſe her conſent to any thing they ſhould do againſt me, under her name."

NUMBER XXVIII. Queen Mary to Caſtelnau.

(From the French; Jebb. 517.)

"As the Earl of Shrewſbury has let me know, that he means to pay a viſit to his Lady at a houſe of his near this place in the end of this week, and to carry me with him; fearing that the trouble attending this viſit, might make me put off the anſwer to the laſt diſpatches which you have ſent me, I have thought proper to write ſhortly before hand, to let you know I received your letters of laſt month, with the packets of my domeſtics which were addreſſed to you, and have all of them, even the ſmalleſt letter been delivered to me, opened; as to this, if it be M. Walſingham who has made this ſearch by the order of the Queen his Miſtreſs, I have no fault

fault to find; nothing being more agreeable than that they ſhould underſtand upon all occurrences and occaſions, the ſincerity of my conduct; in which I have no fear of being ſurpriſed, nor that any perſon ſhould be able truly to allege any thing, contrary to the reſpect and good affection which I bear to the Queen my good Siſter. Of this, I beg you, from me, to aſſure M. Walſingham; that he may know, how openly I mean to act in whatever might give them any ſuſpicion; and that if he does not find me doing any thing contrary to the good of the affairs of this realm, which I ſhall always have the greateſt reſpect for, (eſpecially ſo long as they who ſuperintend them, ſhall have any regard for mine), he ſhould as I deſerve, perform the good offices which he has always promiſed me, on that condition. You will pleaſe make the Earl of Leiceſter to underſtand the ſame," &c. Sheffield 11th September 1577.

Wholly your very good friend

MARY.

So early as September 1569, upon the diſcovery of the propoſed marriage with Norfolk, Queen Elizabeth, ordered a ſtrict watch to be ſet upon the Queen of Scots; no diſpatches to be allowed to be carried to her, nor meſſengers to be admitted into her preſence;

ſence; and all letters both to and from her friends, to be intercepted and ſent to the Court of England. (Haynes 526, 527, 530, 537). Queen Elizabeth ſaid theſe reſtrictions were to be "for a ſeaſon," but we are not to believe it was meant ſo. Moſt probably, all diſpatches and papers or letters of any ſize, were ever afterward intercepted and opened. It ſhould ſeem however from the above, that very ſmall letters had been ſuffered at times to paſs unſearched, as ſhe particularly remarks, that at this time, the very ſmalleſt letters were examined. We may believe from this, that ſhe never ſaw any copies of the forged letters to Bothwell; nor any publications, in which they made their appearance.

NUMBER XXIX. Queen Mary to Caſtelnau.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 519.)

"Although I ought not to embarraſs you with any thing that refers to myſelf individually, amidſt ſo many other great and important negociations in which you are at preſent engaged, I am conſtrained nevertheleſs to trouble you again with reſpect to my treatment and exerciſe in this captivity; as I ſee that notwithſtanding all the promiſes which you have formerly ſent me, and which again by your laſt letters, have been recently

recently made to you, no orders have been hitherto given; and the Earl of Shrewſbury frankly told me, when I ſpoke of this to him, that he had received no advice nor command. I therefore beg you to procure, that the intention of the Queen of England my good Siſter, upon this point, may be ſignified to him, eſpecially for my exerciſe; as for this purpoſe I ſtand in need of having allowed me a Coach or Litter, to be enabled for the future to take the air here round about, having become ſo feeble and weak, principally in my legs, that it is not in my power, although I am better than I have been theſe ſix months paſt, to go a hundred yards on foot; in ſo much that I have been obliged ſince laſt Eaſter to be carried in a hand-chair; which, as you may judge, I cannot continue long to do, having ſo few ſervants proper for ſuch offices. You will renew likewiſe, if you pleaſe, the ſolicitation formerly made by you for paſſports to my Lord Seatoun and Lady Lethington and others of their rank, to come to aſſiſt me on this occaſion, and likewiſe for two women and two valets de chambre; it not being poſſible, in the valetudinary ſtate to which I have fallen through bad treatment theſe ſome years paſt, to be helped and ſerved by the few ſervants I have, in the manner that is neceſſary to me, and no leſs honourable to the Queen my good Siſter.

As

As to my houſehold expenſe, the Earl of Shrewſbury told me lately, that he was very much offended at the complaint which he ſaid you made in my name, in particular terms, attacking his honour; as one of the Counſellors of this kingdom had advertiſed him. I anſwered him at large, that I could not believe you had ſpoken in that ſtyle, as well on account of the reſpect and regard which I know you have for him, as becauſe you never had any ſuch inſtructions from me, unleſs in general terms with reſpect to the whole of my ſtate here; as could be proved by my letters. You will do me the pleaſure to confirm this to him in the firſt letters you ſhall write to me; telling me how you have acted in this matter, in order that he may be ſet right and ſatisfied.

I thank you for the good news which you ſend me of my ſon, whom I deſire not to be leſs affectionate to the Queen my good Siſter, than ſhe (*is*) attentive to his preſervation and mine, againſt our rebel ſubjects in Scotland and party-enemies in this kingdom; this being the ſingle point, upon which if ſhe makes her favour appear to us, ſhe can better, than by any other means, whether by force or bad treatment, make ſure of us, and of all that depends upon us. I am very glad at the good reſolution ſhe has taken to give way to juſtice, in what concerns the Earl of Morton; from whoſe end, all thoſe who have been

been his partiſans, will get as little honour, as from his practices in his life-time. If in other matters, the Queen ſhould not be ſatisfied with the preſent government of Scotland, ſhe can recollect the little ſhare that has been allowed me in the affairs of that country, ſince the time that by the favour of I do not know what traitors, I have been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of the lawful authority which I ought to have had there. And to give her a complete proof of the care and extreme deſire which I have to keep me, and my ſon alſo, in her good friendſhip, if it pleaſe her now to permit me to ſend to my ſon, one of my ſervants in company with ſuch of her's as ſhe ſhall pleaſe to appoint, without the preſence and knowledge of whom I agree that mine ſhall negociate in nothing, I offer my endeavours as ſoon as you ſhall have adviſed with her in my name, by all the means poſſible I can, to bring affairs to ſome good accommodation, and to eſtabliſh for the time to come, a ſure and perfect good intelligence between us; hoping from the good natural diſpoſition of my ſon, that my credit with him, will contribute ſomething to this; and more, than when the poor child held captive under the tyranny of the wicked Morton, was inhumanely conſtrained and forced to forget the obligation, which he is under to me," &c. Sheffield 1ſt May 1581.

NUM-

NUMBER XXX. Queen Mary to the Queen of England.

(From the French; Jebb, 522.)

" Madam, my good Siſter, it has lately pleaſed the moſt Chriſtian King my brother-in-law and the Queen my mother-in-law, to write me upon ſome overtures propoſed on the part of my ſon with reſpect to hi name and title as King of Scotland; upon which, as ſeveral particulars concern you, I wiſh not to fail in aſking your advice and good counſel, with that of thoſe who are pleaſed to think, I ſhould ſhare them; aſſuring myſelf, in a tranſaction ſo commendable and full of piety, that you will effectually verify your ancient declaration and promiſe of friendſhip, to the mother and child your neareſt and moſt faithfully affectionate relations. I will declare then to you Madam, that when my ſon perfectly recognizes, as I hope he will, his duty and obligation to me, I wiſh to make appear to him, upon my ſide, the affection which I have always born him, as my ſole child and only heir: Aſſuring him, as I underſtand he requires, of the enjoyment of all the greatneſs which he can now participate with me; and particularly as to the Crown of Scotland, ſo far am I from ever willing any wiſe to contradict him, as it has

has been endeavoured to perſuade him, that I wiſh to point out the moſt proper means to anſwer our common intention, and particularly, his, upon every thing to which it relates. Before going farther, it ſeems to me that it would tend moſt to your ſatisfaction, if you would pleaſe to permit me to ſend one of my ſervants to him, accompanied with ſuch of your's as you ſhall appoint, without the knowledge and preſence of whom, I voluntarily agree that mine ſhall negociate nothing, but in my name, ſecond the propoſitions which you ſhall think right that your's ſhould make in the affairs of my ſon, for the maintaining of peace and good underſtanding betwen the two kingdoms and to bring to your ſatisfaction, all paſſed differences to ſome good accommodation. I beſeech you, as much for the good of your affairs, as for me individually, not to refuſe this juſt requeſt; upon the refuſal of which, finding myſelf no longer bound to maintain the reſpect, which in this matter, I have been very much inclined to ſhow you, you will not take it ill, if by other means, this affair, which I aſſure myſelf will be taken up by all other Chriſtian Princes, is brought to an actual iſſue. For certainly, the maternal duty incumbent upon me for the preſervation of the perſon of my ſon, and the ſupport of his affairs and mine, does not permit me to delay much longer to provide for them as

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our common neceſſity requires, and as the ſtate of my health admoniſhes me: As I am very apprehenſive from the return of my illneſſes of laſt year, into which I have fallen, that this winter may finiſh with my life, all my miſeries. This makes me ſo much the more affectionately ſeek the means in time, to ſecure my ſon in a good friendſhip and underſtanding with you, as it is the greateſt good I can procure and leave to him before my death; and likewiſe the moſt important, as I think, for your ſecurity, and for the grandeur and tranquillity of the whole of this iſland; which will always be to me, notwithſtanding of all paſſed, a matter of ſtricter regard, than any thing whatſoever, as to myſelf individually: And there ſhall not be found on my ſide, (on which I defy my moſt zealous enemies with you) any practices or behaviour to the contrary nor to your prejudice, in any manner whatever.

Receive then, upon this matter the advantage which is offered you, fortify yourſelf with the good will and ſincere affection of me and my ſon, adding to the obligations which we lie under to you through propinquity of blood, thoſe which we requeſt of you for my ſimple preſervation; for which before God and men, in the ſtate you have detained me theſe thirteen years, you ſhall ſtand accountable. On this point, I muſt make my complaint to you, of the reſtric-

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tion recently impoſed on my liberty, and of the treatment I receive in this reſpect, which has become much worſe for ſome time paſt; ſo far is it from my having received any relief as you were pleaſed to promiſe to the laſt Ambaſſadors of the moſt Chriſtian King: It not being, I ſwear to you, in my power to ſupport it much longer without imminent danger of my death, which I ſuppoſe you would not wiſh to bear the blame of, and leſs to render yourſelf guilty of, by ſuch rigour and inhumanity. If the true account of my treatment does not reach you, and you are informed of the contrary, I beg you will do me the honour to inquire into it more particularly, that you may once for all, give ſuch orders as for your honour and my health you ſhall find neceſſary, without your being farther troubled afterward with reſpect to it. Otherwiſe, if after having ſo long and ſo much ſuffered and (*been*) injured, in a well tried ſincerity towards you, I cannot expect better for the time to come, I ſhall be conſtrained to renew and to procure by all means, and on whatever condition, the demand which I made you laſt year for my deliverance hitherto put off, to make good what was promiſed on your part. And ſuppoſing it comes to the worſt, if my enemies have the credit to ſhorten my days by the continuance and addition to my rigorous treatment in this priſon, and to deprive me

of your favour in what I now implore, I declare to you from this day forwards, that by ſpeedily giving up into the hands of my ſon, not only Scotland but every thing elſe which belongs to me or which I pretend to in the world, which no perſon can hinder me from doing, I ſhall in like manner releaſe myſelf and him alſo, from the inconvenience and prejudice which my captivity has hitherto occaſioned to the proſperity of our affairs, and I ſhall give him licenſe to act according to his pleaſure; ſo that henceforth no perſon may impute to me any practice or negociation that relates to them whatever they may be; and after having thus ſtripped myſelf, there will remain only to my enemies, a poor ſickly and languiſhing body, on which to exerciſe their cruelties and vengeance, without being able to obtain from them any advantage to the State and to affairs. You will if you pleaſe take this into conſideration, and let me know your deſign in whatever way it ſhall ſeem beſt to you: but I would be very glad, upon this ſubject and certain others of great importance to the good of your affairs, to have it in my power, freely to unboſom myſelf to any of your friends whom you can truſt, aſſuring myſelf, that you will hence receive all ſatisfaction. Meanwhile commending myſelf very affectionately to your good grace, I pray God to have you Madam, my good Siſter, in his holy keeping."

ing." From Sheffield this 10th October 1581.

Your very affectionate good Siſter and Couſin,

MARY QUEEN.

NUMBER XXXI. The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 266.)

"Madam, Upon what is come to my knowledge of the late conſpiracies carried into execution in Scotland againſt my poor child, having every occaſion to fear the conſequence of them, from the example of myſelf, I muſt employ the little of life and ſtrength that remains to me before my death, to diſburden fully to you my heart of my juſt and lamentable complaints, of which I deſire that this letter may ſerve you ſo long as you ſhall live after me, as a perpetual teſtimony and engraving upon your conſcience, as well for my acquittal to poſterity, as for the ſhame and confuſion of all thoſe who under your approbation, have ſo cruelly and unworthily treated me hitherto, and brought me to the extremity where I am. But whereas, their deſigns, practices actions and proceedings however deteſtable they have been, have al-

ways prevailed with you againſt my moſt juſt remonſtrances and ſincere conduct, and as the force which you poſſeſs, has always ſtood inſtead of reaſon with the public, I will have recourſe to the living God, our ſole judge, who has eſtabliſhed us equally and immediately under him in the government of his people; I will invoke him at the extremity of this my moſt urgent affliction to requite to you and to me (as He will do at His laſt judgment) according to our merits and demerits, one towards the other. And remember Madam, that to Him we ſhall not be able to diſguiſe any thing by the paint and devices of the world, although now my enemies, under you, may for a time cover from mankind and perhaps from you, their ſubtle inventions. In His name, and as if before Him ſitting between you and me, I will remind you that by agents ſpies and ſecret meſſengers ſent under your name to Scotland while I was there, my ſubjects have been corrupted and excited to rebel againſt me, to attempt againſt my perſon, and in one word, to ſpeak, do enterpriſe and execute whatever during my troubles has happened in that country: Of which I will not ſpecify at preſent any other proof, than that which I ſhall infer from the confeſſion of one (*Morton, according to Camden*) who has been ſince highly rewarded for this good ſervice, and of the witneſſes confronted with him, whom if I had

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after that time brought to juſtice, he would not have ſince renewed by means of his old connexions the ſame practices againſt my ſon, and would not have furniſhed, to all my traitors and rebellious ſubjects who have taken refuge with you, the aid and ſupport which they have had even ſince my detention here; without which ſupport, I conſider that theſe traitors would not have afterward prevailed, nor would have ſo long ſubſiſted, as they have done.

During my impriſonment in Lochlevin the late Throkmorton, adviſed me on your part to ſign the demiſſion, which he let me know was to be preſented to me, aſſuring me that it could not be valid. And ſince that time, there has not been a place in Chriſtendom where it has been held to be ſo, or maintained, except here (*by you*), even to the aſſiſting of the authors of it, by open force. In your conſcience, Madam, would you approve of ſuch liberty and power in your ſubjects? This (*power*) notwithſtanding my authority, has been by my ſubjects conferred upon my ſon when he was not capable of exerciſing it. And after I have been diſpoſed legally to ſecure it to him, being of age to be able to act for his own intereſt, it was ſuddenly forced from him and given to two or three traitors who in already having taken away from him the effect of it, will take away from him, as from me, both the name and

title if he contradict them in any ſort, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preſervation.

Having eſcaped from Lochlevin when I was ready to give battle to my rebels, I ſent you by a gentleman on purpoſe, a diamond ring, which formerly I had received from you as a token (*of love*) and with aſſurance of being ſuccoured by you againſt my rebels, and that upon retreating to you, you would come even to the frontier to aſſiſt me, as by different meſſengers was confirmed to me. This promiſe coming, and repeatedly from your mouth (though by your miniſters I had found myſelf often abuſed) made me place ſuch confidence in the effect of it, that the rout of my camp following after, I came ſtraight to throw myſelf into your arms, if I could have reached them. When I propoſed to go in queſt of you, Lo! I was in the middle of my journey arreſted, ſurrounded with guards, ſhut up in ſtrong places, and at laſt reduced, all ſhame being baniſhed, to that captivity where I this day die, after the thouſand deaths, which I have already ſuffered. I know that you will allege againſt me what paſſed between me and the late Duke of Norfolk. I maintain that there was nothing in it to your prejudice, nor againſt the public good of this realm, and that the treaty was approved of by the advice and ſeals of the greateſt who were then of your Council, with

with aſſurance that they would procure your approbation of it. How could ſuch perſonages have undertaken to make you conſent to a thing which ſhould deprive you of your life honour and crown, as you ſaid you were perſuaded of, to all the Ambaſſadors and others who ſpoke to you concerning me? Meanwhile my rebels perceiving that their precipitate courſe was carrying them much farther than they had propoſed; and the reality of thoſe falſehoods ſpread againſt me having appeared at the conference to which I ſubmitted in full aſſembly of your deputies and mine with thoſe of the oppoſite party in the country, in order publicly to clear myſelf; Behold! the chief of them on account of their having come to repentance, beſieged by your forces in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and one of the firſt of them (*Lethington*) poiſoned, and the other (*Kirkaldy*) moſt cruelly hanged, after I had made them twice lay down their arms at your requeſt in hope of an accommodation, which God knows if my enemies really intended. I was determined to try for a long time, if patience could alleviate the rigour and bad treatment, which eſpecially for theſe ten years I have been made to ſuffer, and accommodating myſelf exactly to the order preſcribed to me for my captivity in this houſe, as well with regard to the number and quality of the ſervants I retained, having diſmiſſed others, as for my diet

and ordinary exerciſe on account of my health, I have lived till the preſent time as quietly and peaceably, as a much inferior perſon to me, and one more obliged, than I from this treatment, am to you, could have done; even to the depriving myſelf, (to remove all ſhadow of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt from you), of a requeſt to have ſome correſpondence with my ſon and my country, which by no right nor reaſon could be denied me; and chiefly with my ſon, whom, in place of this, every means has been uſed to ſet him againſt me, on purpoſe to weaken us by our diviſion. It was allowed me, you will ſay, three years ſince, to ſend to viſit him. His captivity then at Stirling under the tyranny of Morton, was the cauſe, as his liberty ſince has been, of a refuſal of ſuch a viſit. All this laſt year, I have often propoſed different overtures for the eſtabliſhment of a good friendſhip between us, and a ſure agreement between theſe two kingdoms for the time to come.

It is about ten years ſince Commiſſioners were ſent to me at Chatſworth for that purpoſe. The Ambaſſadors of France, and mine, treated with you yourſelf upon it. I myſelf laſt winter made every advantageous propoſal that was poſſible. What have I got by it? My good intention deſpiſed, the ſincerity of my behaviour neglected and calumniated, the ſtate of my affairs perplexed by delays,

adjournments

adjournments and ſuch other artifices: And the concluſion has been worſe and more unworthy treatment from one day to another, whatever I have forced myſelf to do to deſerve the contrary; my too long uſeleſs and pernicious patience, having led me to this point, that my enemies through the habit of doing me ill, think that now they have a right of preſcription to treat me, not as a priſoner which I cannot reaſonably be, but as ſome ſlave whoſe life and death depend on their ſole tyranny. I cannot Madam, ſuffer this longer, and I muſt on dying diſcover the authors of my death; or if I live, I muſt attempt under your protection, to put to death (*an end to*) the cruelties calumnies and treacherous deſigns of my enemies, on purpoſe to attain a little more tranquillity for the remainder of my life. To take away the pretended occaſions of all differences between us, inform yourſelf, if you pleaſe of the truth of all that has been repeated to you concerning my behaviour: Reviſe the depoſitions of ſtrangers taken in Ireland: Let thoſe lately made by the Jeſuits be repreſented to you: Give liberty to thoſe who ſhall undertake to accuſe me publicly, and permit me to enter upon my defence: If any evil be found in me, let me ſuffer, which I will do patiently when I know the reaſon for it; if any good, do not ſuffer that I ſhould be longer maltreated, at your peril before God and man.

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The vileſt criminals that are in your priſons, born under your laws are admitted to juſtify themſelves, and there is always declared to them, their accuſers and their accuſations. Why then does not the ſame rule take place with reſpect to me a Sovereign Queen, your neareſt relation and lawful heireſs? I conceive that this laſt conſideration, has hitherto been the principal cauſe of it, on the part of my enemies and of all their calumnies, on purpoſe, by keeping us divided, to throw between us two, their unjuſt pretences. But alas! they have now little reaſon and leſs need to diſtreſs me more on this account. For I proteſt to you upon my honour, that at this day, I wait for no other kingdom but that of my God, whom I look upon as preparing me for the beſt termination of all my afflictions and paſt adverſities. It will lye with you to acquit your conſcience towards my ſon, as to what ſhall belong to him after your death in this affair; and meanwhile not to countenance, to his prejudice the continual practices and ſecret devices which our enemies in this kingdom, carry on daily for the advancement of their pretenſions; negotiating on the other hand with my traiterous ſubjects in Scotland, by all the means they can to haſten his ruin; of which I aſk no better proof than the charges given to your laſt deputies ſent into Scotland, and what theſe deputies ſeditiouſly practiſed there,

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as I believe without your knowledge but with the good and ſufficient ſolicitation of the Earl (*of Huntington*) my good Couſin at York.

And on this point, Madam, by what right can it be maintained, that I as mother of my child ſhould be totally interdicted, not only from relieving him in the urgent neceſſity in which he now is, but even from having any knowledge of his affairs? Who can ſhew more care duty and ſincerity than me? Who can be more intereſted? At leaſt when you ſent to him to provide for his ſafety, as the Earl of Shrewſbury made me underſtand on your part, if you had pleaſed in this, to receive my advice, you would have intermeddled, with a better pretence, I think, and with more obligingneſs towards me. But conſider what you leave me to think, when forgetting ſo ſuddenly the offences which you pretended againſt my ſon when I requeſted that we ſhould both of us together ſend to him, you ſent when he was a priſoner, not only without adviſing me, but deprived me at the ſame time of all liberty, on purpoſe that by all means, I ſhould have no news of it. If the intention of thoſe who have been ſubſervient, on your part, to ſo haſty a viſit to my ſon has been for his preſervation and the quiet of the country, they ought not to have ſo carefully concealed it from me, as a thing that I was unwilling to concur in with you:

you: They have hence made you loſe the credit which I would have given you; and to ſpeak more freely to you, I beg you, no more to employ ſuch means nor ſuch perſons.—I openly declare to you, that I hold this laſt conſpiracy and innovation (*the impriſonment of my ſon*) to be pure treaſon againſt the life of my ſon, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and ſo long as he ſhall be in that ſtate where I underſtand he is, I will not hold word, writing, or other act of his or which paſſes under his name, to proceed from his free and unreſtrained diſpoſition, but ſolely from theſe conſpirators, who at the price of his life, make uſe of him as a maſk. Now Madam, with all this liberty of ſpeaking, which I foreſee may in ſome reſpects diſpleaſe you, although it be the truth itſelf, you will find it, I aſſure myſelf, more ſtrange, that I come now to trouble you farther with a requeſt of much greater importance, and nevertheleſs very eaſy for you to grant to me and to perform. This is, not having been able hitherto, in accommodating myſelf patiently ſo long to the rigorous treatment of this captivity, and behaving myſelf ſincerely in all things, even to the leaſt which affect you very little, to obtain any aſſurance of your good grace, nor to give you any, of my entire affection to you; being deprived of all hope on that account of better (*treatment*), in the little time that remains

remains to me of life, I ſupplicate you in honour of the grievous paſſion of our Lord and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, I ſupplicate you once more to permit me to retire out of this kingdom to ſome place of repoſe, to ſeek ſome relief to my poor body ſo diſtreſſed with continual pains, and with liberty to my conſcience to prepare my ſoul for God, who daily calls for it.—Recollect if you pleaſe, what I wrote you two years ago, of my keeping my promiſes although prejudicial to myſelf, and that you cannot ſo much bind my heart to you by any means as by gentleneſs; although you confine my poor languiſhing body within four walls, thoſe of my rank and natural diſpoſition, are neither to be overcome, nor to be forced by any rigour. Your priſon, without any right or juſt foundation, has already deſtroyed my body, of which you will ſoon have the end, if it continue but a little longer here; and my enemies will not have much time to glut their cruelties upon me. There remains only to me, the ſoul; which all your power cannot enſlave. Allow it then a little more freely to ſtudy its ſalvation, as being the only thing it now ſeeks for, more than all the grandeur of this world.

Two things finally, I have chiefly to aſk of you, the one, that as I am near my departure from this world, I may have with me for my conſolation ſome reſpectable perſon of the

the Church, daily to remind me of the journey I have to finiſh, and to inſtruct me to perform it, according to my religion in which I am firmly reſolved to live and die. It is a laſt duty which cannot be denied to the moſt wicked and miſerable that lives. It is a liberty which you give to all the foreign Ambaſſadors, as in like manner all Catholic Kings allow to your's, the exerciſe of their religion. And I myſelf have never forced my own ſubjects to any thing contrary to their religion, although I had all power and authority over them, and you cannot, in this extremity, juſtly deprive me of that liberty. What advantage will you have in denying it to me? I hope God will forgive me if when oppreſſed in this manner by you, I do not ceaſe to perform that duty to Him, which will be allowed (*at leaſt*) to my heart. But you will give a very bad example to the other Princes of Chriſtendom, to uſe towards their ſubjects the ſame rigour which you ſhall ſhew to me a Sovereign Queen and your neareſt relation; as I am (*a Queen*), and ſhall be while I live, in ſpite of my enemies. I will not trouble you now about an increaſe of my houſehold, for which during the time which remains to me of life in the world, I ſhall not have ſo much need. (*The other thing,*) I only aſk of you then is, two bed-chamber women to aſſiſt me during my illneſs, aſſuring you before God that they are exceedingly neceſſary

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to me, when I come to be a poor creature, among ſimple people.

I remit now to your conſideration, if you have known the falſe game which my enemies here, have played againſt me in Scotland, to carry things to the extremity (*impriſonment of her ſon*), which of us have acted with moſt ſincerity? Let God be judge between them and me, and avert from this iſland the juſt puniſhment of their demerits: Review once more the intelligence which my traiterous ſubjects of Scotland may have given you, you will find, and I will maintain it before all Chriſtian Princes, that there has not paſſed on my part any thing to your prejudice, nor againſt the good and quiet of this kingdom, which I do not reſpect leſs than any Counſellor or ſubject that you have; I having there, more intereſt than any of them. I ſpoke (in my letters to you) of gratifying my ſon with the title and name of King, and as well, to aſſure him of that title, as the rebels of all impunity of their paſt offences, and to put all things in a ſtate of quiet and tranquillity for the future without any innovation whatever. Was this to take the Crown from my ſon? My enemies I believe, would not wiſh that it was recognized to him, and therefore they are very well pleaſed that he ſhould hold it by the unlawful violence of certain traitors, enemies from the very firſt to all our family. Was this to ſeek

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for juſtice upon the paſt offences of theſe traitors, which my clemency has always exceeded? But a bad conſcience never can be ſecure; it carries always its fears along with it, in the time of greateſt trouble. Was this to diſturb the quiet of the country—to ſecure it by a gentle amneſty of all things paſſed, and a general reconciliation between all our ſubjects? That is what our enemies here fear, in as great a degree as they make a ſhew of deſiring. What prejudice in this was done you? Mark then, and prove (*it*) if you pleaſe, in any other thing elſe: I will anſwer it upon my honour. Ha! Madam, will you, allow yourſelf to be ſo blind to the artifices of my enemies, that, on purpoſe to ſet up after you, and perhaps againſt you yourſelf, their unjuſt pretenſions to this Crown, you will ſuffer them, in your own life-time, and ſee them ruin, and ſo cruelly to deſtroy thoſe who are ſo near to you both in heart and blood? What advantage and honour can you hope, from ſuffering them to keep me and my ſon ſo long ſeparated from one another, and both him and me, from you?

Renew the ancient pledges of your natural good diſpoſition: Bind over what is your's (*me*) to yourſelf: Grant me the pleaſure before I die, that, finding all things well accommodated between us, my ſoul delivered from this body, may not be forced to breathe out its

its groans before God, for the wrong which you have ſuffered to be done to me, here below: But rather, after being reſtored to amity with you, may it quit this captivity, to take its journey to Him, whom I pray to direct you well upon my very juſt, and more than reaſonable complaints and ſorrows." From Sheffield this 28th November 1582.

Your very afflicted neareſt relation and

Affectionate Couſin,

MARIE R.

As this letter is very long, ſeveral paſſages are omitted in the above verſion of it; and theſe are chiefly either of a detached nature, or of ſmall importance. I have as in the caſe of all the reſt, tranſlated as literally as poſſible, without the ſmalleſt attempt to embelliſh. There is a tranſlation of this letter at conſiderable length, inſerted in another hiſtorical publication, but it bears no reſemblance to the Queen's own ſtyle, and even ſeldom makes uſe of her own words. And after all, I queſtion much, but that her own letter literally tranſlated, and even as imperfectly as above, will pleaſe a reader of taſte much better than the ornamented one to which I allude; for in her own, we behold nature and ſimplicity; and withal, much

more real ſtrength and eloquence. It may only be farther remarked, that this letter, written upon the proſpect of approaching death, gives us a high idea of her reſignation and goodneſs of heart, as well as of her manganimity and ſpirit.

NUMBER XXXII. Queen Mary to Caſtelnau.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 532.)

" You can be a good witneſs for me, Sir, and a better than any other I know in this kingdom, having out of your good will, been the ſole and principal Miniſter in all my affairs and proceedings theſe ſeven years paſt that you have reſided here, with what ſincerity I have proceeded with the Queen my good ſiſter, in all that has paſſed between her and me; with what care and affection I have forced myſelf to pleaſe her in all and through all, without giving her room for the ſmalleſt umbrage imaginable, with reſpect to my intention and actions with regard to her: In ſhort, with what patience I have accommodated myſelf for ſo many years to the unworthy treatment of this unjuſt and rigorous captivity, ſo far as often not to allow myſelf to breathe (*whiſper*) during the miſeries and continual vexations which I have here endured, on purpoſe not to trouble the Queen my

my good ſiſter, with them. It is about four years ſince, that in the gentleſt manner, that was poſſible for me, I requeſted her as you know, for my deliverance; ſeeing myſelf ſo afflicted, both in mind by ſo many vexations, and in body by a continual indiſpoſition having taken a ſeat within me, that I did not think of being able to out-live the following winter. At her requeſt I put off my ſolicitation for two years or thereabouts, when ſeeing my malady increaſe, and to be almoſt beyond all hope of cure, as her phyſicians have been able to teſtify, I was conſtrained to have recourſe to her, to put me in a ſtate more eaſy, as well for my conſcience as for my health. And laſtly to obtain this, I ſubmitted myſelf this laſt ſummer to ſuch conditions, that there is not, I will not ſay a Chriſtian Prince, but a Stateſman who knows how to treat between Kings, who would not deem them to be more than reaſonable; aſſuring myſelf, that my own enemies her ſubjects and bound to her in all duty and obedience, would not wiſh to receive nor to ſuffer the like. Notwithſtanding all this, after having tried under fine words and hopes to draw from me all that could be done, on purpoſe to take advantage of it afterward againſt myſelf and my ſon, I have remained, not only without any effect of the leaſt point treated of between the deputies of that Queen and me, but even without anſwer or reſolu-

tion whatever until this day; which is, I think, a very bad return for my ſo great ſincerity, patience and ſubmiſſion; and in this manner, it not being my cuſtom to treat with inferior perſons, as God has given me a too manifeſt proof of the bad intention of my enemies, the counſel of thoſe (*deputies*) has prevailed in this matter.

Not willing however ſtill to give way to the juſt diſguſt, which my enemies endeavour to make me take up, and much leſs deſirous to ſee myſelf ſo much abandoned by the Queen my good ſiſter, as hitherto they have by all artifices attempted to prevent her natural good diſpoſition in this matter, I have found it neceſſary for my laſt manifeſto, and to have all good reaſon on my ſide, to require, as you have ſeen I have done by my laſt diſpatch, a final determination upon the ſaid treaty. As to which, if before this reaches you, no anſwer be made to you, you will on my part again propoſe to the Queen my good ſiſter, that if by any means whatever, ſhe thinks I may be able to contribute to the advancement of friendſhip agreement and perfect good underſtanding ſo much heretofore deſired by me, between her and me and my ſon, for our ſafety and the good and common quiet of this iſland, I offer myſelf once more to engage in it ſincerely, and to ſhew all the good will I have ever had, and which ſhe can wiſh on my part; provided I

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be alſo aſſured, that I ſhall be uſed after the ſame manner.

If to theſe offers and propoſals, which I proteſt ſhall be the laſt I ſhall ever make on the ſame ſubject, no ſuitable returns are now made by the Queen my good Siſter, and thoſe of her Council, I ſubmit to their own judgment and conſideration, and to that of all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom, If I have not acquitted myſelf in all reſpects of the complete duty, not of a Queen and Sovereign Princeſs ſuch as I am, but of a very affectionate near relation and captive of the Queen my good Siſter. Nothing remains to me afterward, but to pray God, as I do daily, that he may pleaſe to direct her well for her preſent good and that of the kingdom for the time to come; which I regard more than any thing that relates to myſelf individually," &c. From Sheffield 12th November 1583.

Your very good friend,

MARIE REINE.

NUMBER XXXIII. Queen Mary to Caſtelnau.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 557.)

" I think, that before God, in the firſt place, and before all the Kings and Princes

of Chriſtendom whom I will always make judges of them, (*the offers*) I ſhall remain ſufficiently and honourably acquitted, however the matter ſucceeds; having proceeded in them, on my part with as upright, ingenuous and ſincere intention as ever Chriſtian did, in any thing whatever; and I challenge on this point all my greateſt, moſt ſubtle and malicious enemies to come forth from below ground, where they have hitherto concealed their numberleſs mines and intrigues, and appear for once if they dare, in public, openly to maintain what all of them together can imagine, ſay or do againſt me; I offering myſelf in like manner, in ſuch a public aſſembly as ſhall be found reaſonable, to anſwer them, and to ſubmit readily to what Chriſtian Princes, ſhall determine upon it.

I do not doubt Sir, that you may think it nowiſe ſtrange that I have fallen into ſuch conteſts, and therefore I will tell you more fully the chief ſource of them. It is this; I have underſtood by reports ſpread around, that ſome of my enemies have wickedly taken the freedom to circulate ſo deteſtable a ſlander, as the taxing my honour with the Lord (*Sbrewſbury*) who has the cuſtody of me. Better, know I well, I could not expect *from thoſe* who from the beginning have plotted my ruin, and deviſed by violence and poiſon the ſhortening of my life ſo much every way afflicted by them, and who are

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at work ſtill by all ſiniſtrous means to defraud me and my ſon of my right in the ſucceſſion to this Crown, ſtirring up againſt my ſon all the troubles which they can, perceiving, that grown wiſe by the experience which young as he is, he has already had of their wicked practices, that he refuſes to be their inſtrument for his own deſtruction and mine: *From thoſe*, I ſay, in fine, who to remove me and my poor child out of their way, eaſily diſpenſe with all things however impious and unlawful they may be. And although their words and actions againſt me, always carrying their diſcredit with them, need not give me great trouble as to their fiction, being a thing which will be judged beyond all truth and probability by thoſe who know the Earl and my deportment in this kingdom, which I may ſay without boaſting, is irreproachable; yet as the report of it, may probably be maliciouſly ſpread by my enemies among more perſons of rank than themſelves, who may not perhaps have the means to know the truth, it is neceſſary, in order to obviate it, that I beſeech and conjure you by the good will which you have always profeſſed to bear to me, that, as well in my name, as with the favour of the King of France my good brother, my ancient ally and protector, you will ſpiritedly declare to the Queen my good Siſter, and to the Lords of her Council, the very juſt diſguſt which I feel in the bot-

tom of my heart at the wrong, and the incomparable injury which have been done to me in this matter; in order that on her part, as being bound by the ties of propinquity, and in conſideration, that in the ſtate in which ſhe detains me I have not the means to provide againſt it (*the ſlander*) otherwiſe, ſhe may pleaſe to undertake my juſt defence, and that the Lords of her Council, as honourable Lords and lovers of truth, may aſſiſt her in it; as I beg of them all, in general, and in particular.

And in order, if no ſufficient anſwer is made, or if the authors do not appear, that they may not eſcape from what they deſerve, I beg you to aſſert publicly in my name, which on the faith of a Queen I promiſe to ſanction in time and place, that whatſoever perſon without exception has ſaid or has cauſed to ſay, that between my guard and me, or in any thing elſe whatever, there has paſſed the ſmalleſt thing in the world contrary or prejudicial to my honour, he has falſely and villanouſly lied, and will lie always and as often as he ſhall ſay or cauſe this to be ſaid; offering upon this, to challenge him to ſingle combat by a perſon of his own rank and equal to him in all reſpects, whom I will not fail to name, the moment I ſhall be advertiſed of it. And meanwhile, I beg you to give notice of this my declaration and offer, with all the diligence

gence you can, as well to the King my good brother, as to my Son, and the Princes of Lorrain my relations, that by them and throughout all Chriſtendom, it may be known, how unworthy in all reſpects I have been treated by my enemies. But above all, I expreſsly charge my Son to demand reparation, not for my particular vindication, but for his own honour, and it ſhall be one of my laſt commands at the point of death, if I am not ſatisfied before that; there neither being, on my part, life nor grandeur in this world which I do not voluntarily hazard for the defence of my honour, this being the ſole and laſt conſideration which my enemies can touch upon to bring affairs to extremity between them and me, and to make me loſe the far too great patience which has made me waſte away and languiſh among them, theſe fifteen years, in this miſerable captivity.

I do not mean however as yet, to point out any perſon in particular, *as well* for the paſt obligations I am under to her (*the Counteſs of Shrewſbury*) [who has made uſe of this lie, which formerly ſhe laughed immoderately at to myſelf, having more intereſt in it than any other body, and even to name to me one called Tophlif as the author of this fine ſtory, not wiſhing notwithſtanding all her extreme ingratitude to wrong her at preſent as to what ſhe formerly intended to ſerve me],

me], *as* not to bring into play any of thoſe, by whom under the name of friends, ſhe wiſhes to conceal herſelf, who might be affected by it; ſhe and all that ever can depend upon her not meriting that I ſhould fall into bad terms with them, and leſs, that I ſhould forget myſelf, as to what I am, in order to purſue her in ſuch an affair. But on the ſuppoſition that I ſhall be urged to go farther by ſuch lies and falſe impoſtures, (for in truth I give them la carte blanche (*perfect liberty*) to publiſh the worſt they can of me, even as to my faithful intention and ſincere deportment towards the Queen my good Siſter, and this kingdom) I aſſure myſelf, that my other friends and well-wiſhers will not impute to ingratitude or to vindication, but to the utmoſt extremity, if for the juſt defence of my honour, I make, not underhand, but publicly by good and ſufficient proofs, article for article, appear to the Queen my good Siſter, and all perſons of rank in her kingdom, the little faith and credit which ſhe (*Counteſs Shrewſbury*) and her's have deſerved againſt me, of whom they have become enemies upon the vain imagination of raiſing themſelves from ſo low a ſtate to make themſelves of conſequence to this Crown; they being, in the manner, I undertake to prove, diſpoſed both by words and deeds againſt the honour and the dignity of their own Queen and the greater

greater part of the Nobility of the country: Taking it upon my ſalvation, that the account which I ſhall give, if I am forced to it, ſhall be ample and ſtrictly true whatever be the conſequence. And in this reſolution I ſhall ſtop from going farther at preſent, begging God to render to every one in this affair according to their deſerts, as I hope He will do at laſt, overthrowing the wicked councils and machinations of thoſe who ſhall oppoſe themſelves to His appointment and holy will, and to the friendſhip concord and good underſtanding which ought to be between the Queen my good ſiſter, and me and my ſon, for our common ſecurity and the good and quiet of this iſland, for which it ſeems to me my enemies have loſt all reſpect, in order to promote their pernicious and particular deſigns; and at laſt, though perhaps too late, it will be diſcovered that all the attempts for the deſtruction of me and my ſon, are only to open a way for that of a third. I pray God Sir to have you in his holy keeping." Sheffield 2d January 1584.

Your very good friend,

MARIE.

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NUMBER XXXIV. Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(From the French; Murdin, 558.)

"Agreeable to my promiſe and your deſire, I now declare to you, (but with regret that thoſe things ſhould have been the ſubject of converſation, but moſt ſincerely and without any reſentment againſt her *on my part*, as I call God to witneſs,) That the Counteſs of Shrewſbury ſaid to me, concerning you, what follows, nearly in theſe words. To the greater part of which I proteſt, that in anſwer, I chid that Lady for believing and ſpeaking ſo licentiouſly of you, as a thing which I did not at all credit, nor credit now; knowing the diſpoſition of that Counteſs, and the ſpirit with which ſhe was then actuated againſt you. In the firſt place, That * * *

vagantly, and that in her laſt viſit to you, ſhe and the late Counteſs of Lennox* when they ſpoke to you, durſt not look at one another, leſt they ſhould burſt with laughter, at the lies which they told you; and ſhe begged of me on her return, to ſcold her daughter, whom ſhe had never been able to perſuade to do the ſame; and as to her daughter Talbot, ſhe was ſure ſhe could never keep from laughing in your face. This Lady Talbot, when ſhe went to give her attendance upon you, and took the oath as one of your ſervants, immediately upon her return, holding it to be a thing done in mockery, begged that I would accept of the like, but ſeriouſly and devotedly as to me; which I a long time refuſed, but at laſt, moved by her tears, I permitted her; ſhe ſaid ſhe would not for any thing in the world be in your ſervice, about your perſon; as ſhe would be afraid that when you were angry you would do to her as you did to her couſin Skedmar, whoſe finger you broke and made the court believe, a candleſtick had fallen down upon it; and that to another ſervant, you had given a great ſtroke of a knife, upon the hand. In a word, as to theſe laſt points and little ſtories, believe me, you were made a fool of, and mimicked by them, as in a Comedy; even among my women: Upon perceiving which,

* Daughter of the Counteſs of Shrewſbury.

I ſwear to you, that I forbade my women, to join any more with them.

Farther, the Counteſs, another time, told me that you wiſhed to appoint Rolſon to ſeduce and diſhonour me either in fact or by evil report; for which he had inſtructions out of your own mouth: That Ruxby came here about eight years ſince, to attempt my life, and had ſpoken with yourſelf, who told him to do what Walſingham ſhould recommend and direct him. As the Counteſs was engaged in forwarding the marriage of her ſon Charles with one of the nieces of Lord Paget, and as on the other ſide you deſired to have her by pure and abſolute authority for one of the Knollis's who was your relation, ſhe loudly exclaimed againſt you; and ſaid that this was real tyranny, as you were a-mind according as your fancy led you, to carry off all the heireſſes of the country, and that you had treated Lord Paget ill with injurious language; but that at laſt the nobility of this kingdom would not ſuffer you farther, if you ſhould interfere with certain others, whom ſhe was well acquainted with. About four or five years ſince, when you were in bad health, ſhe told me that your complaints were ſuch that you would ſoon die, and was happy at it; on the vain fancy that ſhe had, of a long time, founded on the predictions of one called John Lenton and of an old book which foretold you would

die

die by violence; and that another Queen ſhould ſucceed, whom ſhe interpreted to be me; regretting only that in that book it was predicted, that the Queen who was to ſucceed, ſhould reign only three years, and die like you by violence; which was repreſented likewiſe by a painting in the ſame book, the contents of the laſt leaf, of which ſhe never would tell me. She knows herſelf that I have always held this to be pure folly, but ſhe laid her account with ſtanding higheſt in my favour; and even that my ſon, ſhould marry my niece Arabella *. To conclude, I ſwear to you once more, upon my faith and honour, that the above is very true; and as what concerns your honour, the idea never came into my mind, to do you wrong by revealing it; and it ſhall never be revealed by me, as I hold it to be very falſe. If I may have the happineſs of ſpeaking with you, I ſhall tell you more particularly, names, times, places, and other circumſtances, that you may know the truth of theſe and other things, which I reſerve, till I ſhall be altogether aſſured of your friendſhip; which as I deſire more than ever, ſo if I ſhould obtain it at this time, you would not have a relation, friend nor ſubject more faithful and affectionate, than I ſhall be to you. For God's ſake reſt aſſured of her who is willing and

* Daughter of Charles Earl of Lennox.

and able to ſerve you. From my bed, where I force my hand and my pains to ſatisfy and to obey you." (1584)

A rupture had taken place, by this time, between the Counteſs of Shrewſbury and Queen Mary; for formerly the Counteſs was on a very familiar footing with her, and had communicated a great deal of the private hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth. This reaching the ears of the Engliſh Princeſs, excited a ſtrong deſire to know, what ſhe had ſaid; and which Queen Mary relates, in the above very curious and ſingular letter. That part of the letter, which refers to indecencies in Elizabeth's conduct, I have not tranſcribed. It was the misfortune of Mary, to be under the neceſſity of giving a detail of them. And hardly any other circumſtance, ſhows more the humiliating ſtate of this Perſonage, ſo diſtinguiſhed for decorum and propriety of manners, than to have been obliged, when lying in her bed, and hardly able to hold the pen through indiſpoſition, to write a narrative of the wantonneſs and impurities in the private life of the Engliſh Queen. What ſhows ſtill more the dejected and mournful ſtate to which ſhe was reduced, ſhe wiſhed to reap advantages from this humility to which ſhe had ſtooped; but did not obtain them. She repeated her deſire, in vain on this occaſion, to be admitted into the preſence

ſence of her ſiſter. The decency with which ſhe writes, on a ſubject from which decency is baniſhed, will ſtrike thoſe who peruſe this letter, at large.

NUMBER XXXV. Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(*An original, from the French; Murdin* 565.)

" Madam, my good Siſter, Since I cannot obtain permiſſion to ſend to my ſon, nor to ſpeak with any one coming from him to this country, to inform me as I have ſo often and ſo urgently requeſted, of what is ill interpreted and plotted between him and me, from which I ſee more and more the little I have to hope from that quarter, my enemies in the mean time being ſuffered to continue their ancient practices with reſpect to my ruined child, to ſeparate him from me, as they have endeavoured in all times paſſed; I have come to a reſolution which I will no longer delay to make you acquainted with. This is, ſince my ill-counſelled ſon is ſo wicked and abandoned by the Spirit of God, as to leave himſelf to be led and perſuaded, to refuſe to hold of me, that which without me he cannot lawfully poſſeſs, may it pleaſe you without any longer delay or adjournment to proceed to the concluſion of the

treaty for my liberty, in order that I may retire with your good grace, out of this iſland into ſome place of ſolitude and of repoſe, as well for my ſoul as for my body; and on this condition, I offer you once more, not only what has been lately agreed upon with my ſecretary, but every thing elſe; reſerving nothing which with honour and a ſafe conſcience I can grant; nay rather than that you ſhould not be entirely ſatisfied, and I out of this ſervitude or lonely captivity with which I am reproached, I would rather, as well for myſelf as for my poſterity in the time to come, renounce and give up for ever, all right which I or mine could claim in this kingdom after you, whom God preſerve, to remove entirely once for all, every handle of my enemies to make you diſtruſt me and forget others; by this means rendering it impoſſible for any one whatever, to uſe me as a pretext in practiſing or attempting under my name, or ſhow of my favour, any thing to your prejudice or diſlike. For ſince now he (*my ſon*) fails and deceives me, from a regard to whom, I take the living God to witneſs, I have ſuffered and toiled in this my captivity; to preſerve to him the greatneſs which could appertain and fall to me in this world, having had his preſervation much dearer to me than my own, there falls nothing more to me but that he and I are to be undone; the ſooner in ſhort if he do not repent; the

greateſt

greateſt ſatisfaction which I ſhall have, before my death haſtened on by him, will be, to leave him to all poſterity a ſignal example of tyranny, ingratitude and impiety, juſtly avenged and puniſhed by God in him and his agents. You may recollect Madam, that you were pleaſed to tell me, that you never recogniſed him to be King by your handwriting, before I myſelf had called him ſo; but I did not do this, nor require other princes to do it, but on his conſent and promiſe to ratify the aſſociation, as I deſired it to be completed by him, declaring I had no right nor ſecurity as to the poſſeſſion of my crown, but by my voluntary acceptance of his duty, and the reſigning of the whole government; upon which I committed myſelf to him, contenting myſelf with the honour and name which was due to me, without any prejudice to his ambition ſanctioned by our aſſociation. And in truth he cannot obtain it, nor lawfully and in ſafety hold it by any other means; for otherwiſe the conſequence would be very prejudicial forever to all the Princes of Chriſtendom; and conſequently to you, however ſome of your ſubjects, and who are neareſt you think; unleſs ſuch a thing were publicly affirmed and maintained, as the election and demiſſion of Kings. Be not then, I beſeech you, the perſon to open the door to ſuch extraordinary violences; and in place of being my protectreſs, to whom I

have entirely committed myſelf, do not ſuffer that under your authority and countenance, ſuch impiety ſhould eſtabliſh and maintain itſelf againſt all right divine and human. It has happened ſometimes, that brothers and other near relations have forgotten themſelves towards one another from the ambition of reigning; but alas! what can be ſeen more impious and deteſtable before God and men, than that an only child to whom every thing falls, and is willingly offered, ſhould not only ſtrip his own mother of her dignity and crown, (although as to the crown, the injuſtice might be leſſened, if we were divided about it, which is not the caſe; for I mean to give it him, and only demand the honour of it, and the ſatisfying of my conſcience, without any deſire ever to ſet a foot in Scotland,) but ſhould be ſo bewitched by ſiniſtrous and particular counſel, as to wiſh rather to hold it by uſurpation and violence of ſubjects, (he being in the ſame danger daily), than by my voluntary free and pure conſent. For God's ſake Madam, you who are his god-mother, and whom I wiſhed to be his ſecond mother, as formerly I had left him to you, when I thought I was dying, and may do ſo ſtill, conſult with your natural inclination, to whatever is juſt, and with your uſual prudence, what advantage and honour can at laſt redound to you from the counſel which I know well certain perſons give you,

to

to join yourſelf by ſome league and treaty of friendſhip to my child; ſeparating himſelf hence from me, for want of liberty, to lay open to him the truth. Be not the cauſe, that under your ſupport, confirming himſelf the more in his ingratitude and unthankfulneſs to me, it ſhall come to paſs (as without doubt I will do, if he perſiſt in this), that I ſhall give him forever my malediction; and deprive him as much as is in me lies, of all the good and greatneſs which through me he could claim, whether in Scotland or elſewhere. I have no doubt it would ſoon appear, that I can find in Chriſtendom, plenty of heirs who will have nails ſtrong enough to hold faſt what I ſhall put into their hands; on my dividing this, let them do to my body as they pleaſe; the ſhorteſt way in this reſpect will always be the moſt agreeable to me. As to my determination, aſſure yourſelf, that if, after having ſincerely offered, and as far as it has hitherto been permitted me, done and performed, what was in my power to accommodate me entirely to you, and to influence my ſon to do the like, (and ſurely I am forſaken and ſet below him), and that he comes to treat with you, thinking under your name, to make ſure of our enemies here, who have perſuaded him a long time to this, as he has informed me himſelf by Gray. Aſſure yourſelf, that forthwith I ſhall diſavow him to be my ſon, and ſhall

give him my malediction, diſinheriting him not only of what he poſſeſſes, but of all that through me he can claim beſides; abandoning him to our ſubjects to do to him, as he has been inſtigated to do to me; and alſo to all foreigners, to invade him and make him feel his offence. At the leaſt, I aſſure myſelf he will never enjoy them without trouble, and if it ſhould happen that ſtrength and ſupport do not fail him, I will take from him with good right the protection of God, who will not, againſt his promiſe, finally favour ſuch impiety and injuſtice. Thus, whoever ſhall treat with him, will have little honour, merit or ſecurity; and my enemies will not derive ſuch advantages from it as they think; if it be not to ruin him by himſelf; as I believe, they aim. I beſeech you not to receive on this matter any bad interpretation of my enemies, for I proceed ſimply and openly, advertiſing you of what I am perfectly reſolved to do in this caſe; in order, that afterward, you may find no fault, nor blame me for having done any thing without your knowledge; demanding no more but a yes, or a no, in all this affair. You may have me aſſuredly altogether your's at your ſervice; as I have offered to ſerve you in every thing that ſhall be for your good, preſervation and contentment; and if this is not accepted, along with the loſs of my ſon, I have only to leave to you and him, my poor body to do with

with it what you ſhall pleaſe, which does demand, (perhaps without the will of God), any thing but what my enemies wiſh and attempt. So far is it from any fear or apprehenſion of ſuch an event, that I ſhould ever make one ſtep, or ſay one ſingle word leſs or more, for I would rather die and periſh with ſuch honour, and ſuch a heart as God has inſpired me with, than by puſillanimity diſgrace my life in order to prolong it, by any thing unjuſt and unworthy of me and of my race, *&c.* I conclude this letter in tears and very grievous diſtreſs." From Tuthbury, 23d March 1585. Your humble and very affectionate, but afflicted Siſter and Couſin,

MARIE R.

In a poſtſcript, written in her own hand, to a letter, addreſſed, the day after, to Caſtelnau,—" I beg, ſays ſhe, that from being true and native Queen, I may no more be ſtyled Queen mother; for I know not, (if the aſſociation does not take place), Queen nor King of Scotland, but myſelf."—What chiefly brought forth this noble and ardent indignation from the breaſt of Queen Mary, was a letter which her ſon addreſſed to her in a ſtyle, equally contemptible and unnatural. Among other paſſages in it, are the following:—" As to conducting affairs conjointly with you, I have never, Madam, read nor

heard, that two Princes or two perſonages, have, or could conjointly conduct their affairs, as each has his own miniſters; and particularly, it is impoſſible for us, the one of us being free and occupied in the affairs of the ſtate; and the other a captive, living ſolitary as if in a deſert.—And as to your being acknowleged Queen, I have always acknowleged, and will acknowlege during my life, you to be Queen-mother, as piety and duty oblige me; but not through fear of diſpleaſing any foreign Prince whatever; for whoever of them ſhall be diſpleaſed with me, I ſhall be diſpleaſed in my turn with them." Jebb, 571.

Number XXXVI. Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 582.)

" Upon the occaſion of a very unfortunate and lamentable accident, which happened the day before yeſterday in this houſe, within ten paces of my chamber, and almoſt in the full view of my windows, namely, the violent death of a poor young man, a Catholic as it is ſaid, impriſoned here ſo near to me, theſe three weeks, and on the ſole account of his religion, as the violence which has been publicly exerciſed againſt him, demonſtrates;

ſtrates; it is neceſſary that I repreſent to you, how much I conſider this event as ſufficient to make me take heed to my own ſafety, with reſpect to any perſon who may be appointed to be my guard here. For, Madam, whether this man was reduced to the extremity of making away with himſelf, as ſome ſay, whether his days have been ſhortened by violence, or whether he has been overpowered by bad treatment, [I having ſeen him different times brought and dragged by force a-croſs the court of this caſtle, to go againſt his conſcience to the place of their worſhip; a thing which might have been well left to be done elſewhere than in my preſence and in this houſe, which you have not, I think deſtined to be a public jail, if there had been any reſpect for me who profeſs the ſame religion]; I leave you to judge, if ſuch violence has been uſed againſt a poor ſimple man, on the ſole, pure and true ſcore of his religion, without allegation, ſo far as I can ſee of any crime, his life and his death being a thing of no profit or intereſt to any body whatever,—What may I expect from ſuch zealots of puritaniſm? I, I ſay, in whoſe death, they have placed the whole gain of their cauſe, and their ſureſt road to come at the uſurpation of this crown! But this, I pray you, not to think, that I attribute to Sir Ralph Sadler, as I judge him in my conſcience to be ſo honourable

nourable a gentleman, and ſo upright before God and you, that I am not afraid, he will knowingly commit here any wicked action.

To ſay, that theſe puritans, have not an eye to future hopes, is a mere fable, under which they conceal the purity or the corruptneſs of their intention; which is, to make the monarchy elective for the time to come, by means of the preſent deſtruction of your blood (*me*) and legal ſucceſſion; and I verily think that I would not have been this day alive, if you had inclined to believe one of them, one too who holds a high office near you, whom the Counteſs of Shrewſbury once told me you had reproached, becauſe if you had followed his counſel, you would have ſtained your hands with my blood. Calling to mind therefore, the practices tending to the ſame effect, which have been revealed to me by that Counteſs, and thoſe which were ſet on foot againſt me in this laſt Parliament, thwarted by none but yourſelf, and alſo the ſecret conſpiracy of the aſſociation to effectuate a general maſſacre both of me, and of thoſe of my religion, which is the principal object with this faction, without giving themſelves any trouble about the inconveniencies and dangers to which they might hence precipitate you; I ſupplicate you, moſt earneſtly, Madam, to grant to me on any conditions whatever, without prejudice to my conſcience, a deliverance out of this long

and

and miſerable captivity; in which, in place of my being ſincerely and faithfully treated in all reſpects, I hear only, (the more, I anticipate and endeavour to accommodate myſelf to your intentions), of new retrenchments, orders and reſtrictions; which would vex me the more, were it not for the entire confidence which I have placed in your good natural diſpoſition, your promiſes, and the hope which I have of the effect of theſe.

Therefore I would be very glad to know, if theſe rudeneſſes and reſtrictions proceed from your commandment, and on what they can be founded; for I defy my greateſt enemies to allege any thing on my part which might offend you. But I ſee too well, that ſo long as I ſhall remain in this country, whatever ſtrict guard you may ſet upon me, whatever ſincerity I practiſe with you, whatever duty I make it, to let you clearly ſee into all my actions and behaviour towards you, in ſhort, ſhould I, as the ſaying is, divide myſelf into four quarters to pleaſe you, My ſaid enemies with you, will never permit *(you)* to be in peace with me, nor me to receive peace from you. They will for ever impute to me, what will be to your diſcontentment, not only here, but in all Chriſtendom; and when a pretext fails them, they will not fail to invent one, to keep you in perpetual diſtruſt of me, and me, in continual torment and apprehenſion. Parry,

ſay

ſay they, diſguiſed his wicked deſign in my favour *. When ſhould it be that I can ever (*acquit myſelf*)? How ſhould I better acquit myſelf of it? than by publicly declaring that all ſuch people are my mortal enemies; as I have done, by the declaration which I have ſent to you. And if the offers ſo advantageous which I have made you, formerly are ſuch, that it has pleaſed you yourſelf to avow, that nothing can be added to them, and if they are not ſufficient for my deliverance, do me the honour to make me underſtand what you deſire more, even to my being deprived of all right in the ſucceſſion to this crown, if you find that this may contribute to your ſafety, and that you think you may have better terms from another, than from me.

And for God's ſake take care, that, ſtep by ſtep, you do not permit this puritan faction, to grow to ſuch a head in number, forces and uſurpations of authority, that if you do not provide in time, it may no more be in your power to ſecure to me either my right or my life. And without doubt, they will at laſt give you the law themſelves; as I am aſſured that different things are carrying on in their behalf for the advancement of

* Parry had no communication with Queen Mary. He conſpired againſt the life of Queen Elizabeth, purely becauſe ſhe was a heretic.

of their deſigns; the which, they know you will not approve, ſo far is it from this being by your commandment. Recollect that in the book which the Counteſs of Shrewſbury made me formerly read, they maintain boldly and firmly that it is not in your power, to name or to make any Catholic your heir. It will belong then to them, to elect and to eſtabliſh an heir by force in any manner they preſume; and what is this, but to conſtrain me at laſt, in ſpite of myſelf, to ſubmit to their mercy, both my life and my right after you, in the ſucceſſion to this crown? I have acquainted you, that I was content to yield and to ſubmit to you; but whatever may happen, I will never do this to any ſubject you have: And therefore, Madam, take good heed, if you pleaſe, as to whom you will commit me, while I wait your reſolution as to my deliverance. Your own ſafety is at ſtake; when they ſhall have me in their hands and at their devotion, one obſtacle is removed out of their way.

I have no doubt that your intention is ſalutary and ſincere towards me, I have no diſtruſt of your word; but when, contrary to your intention and word, and without your knowledge, my life ſhall be taken from me, I know not who will be able to repair this loſs. And the true way to acquit my enemies of ſuch an act, if it ſhould take place, would be in abuſing your intention and word:

And

And to go farther, who is there among them who will eſteem that he has done a thing unjuſt or unworthy of himſelf, as you acquainted me in your laſt, in executing what he has promiſed and ſworn in the aſſociation, namely, to ruin by all means all thoſe in favour of whom there ſhould be any thing attempted againſt your perſon? The examination of Parry, who it is ſaid was once their ſpy, will be of ſervice to them in this, as to an acquittal. Conſider to what iſſue, indirectly and gradually, theſe things tend, by this ſecret oligarchical plot; covered under the ſpecious title of an aſſociation for your preſervation: Which plot I have never approved of, but on the contrary have always cried out againſt, being in the moſt voluntary manner bound, as I repeat again, to ſtudy your preſervation, which is no leſs dear to me, than to any ſubject which you have.

Upon this, permit me to ſay freely to you, I beſeech you, on this declaration of the perfect intereſt which I take in your ſafety, that it is very dangerous for you to ſuffer your ſubjects to be ſo extremely perſecuted and haraſſed againſt their conſcience on the ſole account of religion: for the deſpair which hence may ariſe in the hearts of many, perceiving before their eyes their complete ruin prepared, may produce diverſe fatal and incomprehenſible effects, as in the caſe of the

the poor man here, if it be true, that he made way with himſelf. My ſecretary has told me, that he has heard from your mouth, that it never was your intention that any of your ſubjects ſhould ſuffer ſolely for his conſcience and religion; and ſo long as this has been obſerved in the firſt years of your reign, you have had great tranquillity, no perſons being charged with crimes againſt you. For God's ſake, Madam, keep that holy reſolution, worthy of you and of all thoſe of your rank: the examples of our age through all Chriſtendom having given you ſufficient proofs how little human force can do in the matter of religion, which is to be inſpired from above. For my part, ſhould it come to this, that an open attack were made upon my religion, I am perfectly ready with the grace of God to lay down my neck under the axe; to ſhed my blood before all Chriſtendom; and I ſhould hold it to be a very great happineſs to go the foremoſt. I do not ſay this through vain glory, (*as if I were*) at a great diſtance from danger.

Once more then, Madam, I beſeech you to put an end to my ſufferings, and to deliver me in the manner that it ſhall pleaſe you out of this miſerable priſon, which I may more juſtly than ever call a priſon and worſe, ſeeing ſuch deeds (*committed*); and that I may not languiſh a great time longer, only to prolong the perſecution againſt me,

ſolely

ſolely for having the honour to be the neareſt of your blood relations. It would be a very great cruelty to make me undergo ſo many evils and pains, becauſe that without blemiſh I have preſerved (*that honour*) with me, ſince my birth. I wait your anſwer and reſolution, nothing remaining but my life to offer to you after the conditions which I have propoſed in order to obtain from you my deliverance; and humbly kiſſing your hands, I pray God, that he may have you, Madam, my good ſiſter, in his holy keeping. Tuthbury 8th April 1585. Your very humble and very affectionate Siſter and Couſin,

MARIE R.

In a letter to Caſtelnau a few weeks after, (the 15th May, Jebb 586.) ſhe complains, that ſhe was even prohibited from diſpenſing her uſual charities to the poor.—" Yet more, I muſt among the other innovations introduced here, complain by you to the Queen my good Siſter, that Paulet will not permit me, for theſe days paſt, to ſend ſome few alms, according to my means, to the poor of this village. Which truly, I cannot aſcribe but to a very ſtrange rigour: it being a pious work, and which no Chriſtian can find fault with: and in which, Paulet, might act with ſuch care, making my ſervant be accompanied with ſuch of his people and ſoldiers

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as he ſhould pleaſe, even by the Conſtable of the village; ſo that no fault could be found with it, nor room or foundation for ſuſpicion; having provided by this means for the ſecurity of his charge, it ſeems to be a wrong to diſappoint me in a Chriſtian work, which during my maladies and afflictions, might turn to my conſolation, and be of no offence or prejudice to any perſon whatever. You will remonſtrate upon this, if you pleaſe, to the Queen my good Siſter, to beg of her to command Paulet not to uſe me in this manner; there not being ſo poor, vile and abject a criminal and priſoner, to whom this permiſſion, has ever by any law been denied."

In a letter to the ſame, dated July 10th 1585, (Jebb, 588.) after telling, that her health was pretty good, notwithſtanding the arbitrary manner, and increaſing rigours with which ſhe was treated by her Guardian Paulet.—" I find myſelf in very great perplexity (ſays ſhe) with reſpect to my abode in this houſe, if I muſt paſs the next winter in it; for it being only as I formerly told you, a bad old piece of timber-work, where the wind on all ſides, enters my chamber, I do not know how it will be in my power, to preſerve in it, the little health I have recovered; and my phyſician who was in extreme concern about it at the time of my

regimen, has expreſsly proteſted to me, that he will altogether give up the curing of me, if I be not provided in a better lodging, he himſelf while he watched by me during my regimen, experienced an incredible cold in the night time in my chamber, notwithſtanding the ſtoves and continual fire there, and the heat of the ſeaſon of the year. I leave you to judge, how it will be in the middle of winter; this houſe being ſituated upon a mountain in the middle of a plain about ten miles round and round, expoſed to all the winds and injuries of heaven.—There are an hundred peaſants in this ſorry village at the foot of the Caſtle, better lodged than I am; my whole accommodation conſiſt in of two wretched ſmall rooms, and ſome cloſets, not fit for any thing (if I muſt ſay ſo) but a cloſe-ſtool; in ſuch a manner that I have no place to retire to, to aſide, as I may have different purpoſes for, nor have I a covered walk; and in one word, I have not had ſo unhealthy and ſo inconvenient a lodging in England. I conceive the Queen my good ſiſter, will not think me troubleſome, on account of all theſe remonſtrances, to which pure neceſſity drives me, and the little care that I find has been taken to provide againſt them theſe ſix months that I have kept myſelf in all poſſible ſilence and patience, of which I refer to my Guardian to bear teſtimony. I thank you affectionately, for the duty which you

you have ſhown, in order to conſole me upon the delay of the treaty for my liberty, not doubting that you have told me the true reaſons that are alleged for it, which I find to be altogether like the old excuſes in times paſt, namely ſometimes a revolution in Scotland, ſometimes a trouble in France, ſometimes the diſcovery of ſome conſpiracy in this country, and in one word, the ſmalleſt incident that can come to paſs in Chriſtendom; in ſuch a way as amounts to this—That they will take my cauſe up, as the children ſay, when all the world ſhall be agreed and content."

The following paſſages are alſo taken from a letter to Caſtelnau, (dated Tuthbury Auguſt 12. 1585. Jebb, 594.) which is the laſt in order, in M. le Laboureur's *Additions*, and which ſhe wrote to that Ambaſſador, juſt upon his leaving England on his return to France. " I have received your three letters, from which, I muſt freely avow to you, that I have received, more eaſe, conſolation and contentment from the happy reconciliation of my relations (*the Princes, &c. of Lorrain*) with their King, than from any thing you have written to me upon my own particular affairs. For ſeeing I myſelf have been deprived of all hope of friendſhip with the Queen my good Sifter, and of being publicly ſerviceable to this ſtate, as I had a very good and ſincere intention, and which was

my principal aim and deſign, it is to me a very great comfort, that my friends do not follow the courſe of my misfortune and miſery; for I do not doubt, that in different ways, it has been attempted to make them participate in them. I beg you then, to teſtify on my part to the King my brother and to the Queen my Siſter-in-law, my congratulation on this account, as I hold this reunion of their moſt faithful and aſſured ſubjects with them, to be the true and only foundation of the preſervation of France.——As to my health, I had after my regimen was over, conceived ſome hope of recovering and regaining my ſtrength, as in truth I was pretty well for a time, but fifteen days ſince, I fell ill, and have been as grievouſly troubled with my defluxions as ever, eſpecially in one of my thighs, where I fear exceedingly much there will be formed a ſciatic; this new diſtreſs having been occaſioned to me chiefly by the wind blowing through chinks, and the moiſture and coldneſs to which my chamber is expoſed, as my phyſician has teſtified to Paulet.——If it were not troubleſome to you, I would willingly empower you to remonſtrate, upon the juſt diſguſt which I feel on account of the little reſpect which theſe ſome years, certain of the Council of the King my brother, have had to my preſent ſtate and very urgent neceſſity, in order to allow me peaceably to enjoy the little that remains

remains to me of my Dowry (*her Dowry in France which was all ſhe had to ſubſiſt upon*) not complete according to aſſignation and afterward much diminiſhed, as well from ſignal loſſes which I have ſuſtained during the troubles of France, as from the attempts which have been daily made upon my rights, even to the taking away from me very extraordinarily whole Lordſhips as the Duchy of Touraine, &c.——I ſhall be conſtrained myſelf to be in want here of my ordinary neceſſaries; and conſequently many of my poor officers will ſuffer, which is an extreme hardſhip. I wrote as you will ſee in order to preſerve to you your Bailliſhip and Captainſhip of Vitry, being the leaſt I think which the King my brother can do for you on account of your ſo ſignal and ancient ſervices, ſetting me aſide, to whom the diſpoſing of it belongs; and I ſhould rather hope that he would aid me to acknowledge in the ſtate in which I am with ſo little means, the obligations which I am under to you; which I promiſe you not to remain ungrateful for, if ever opportunities ſhould permit me, to ſhow by deeds my good will to you, to my god-mother your wife and to all yours. I regret infinitely that you and ſhe did not obtain permiſſion to do a deed of compaſſion, by viſiting me before your departure from this kingdom, inſtead of which, I accept with all my heart of your offers and good inten-

tions in my favour; as I beg you to remember the promiſe which you made me, to write me from time to time at your leiſure when in France. The Counteſs of Athole, whom you know, has made me the offer by the laſt letters I received from her, to come here to me, to ſerve me with her young daughter, which is very agreeable to me, on account of the very great conſolation that it would be to me, to have ſuch a Lady near me, as I am in want I may ſay, of all company ſuitable to my rank. I beg you then, as much as you have ever had a deſire to do me a pleaſure, to endeavour by all means to get her paſſport, certifying to the Queen my good Siſter, that this will occaſion only a little more expence, not equal to the value of the obligation, which I proteſt to be under to her. I promiſe that the Counteſs, out of love to me, will reduce herſelf to as ſmall a train, as can be, in proportion to mine,"——&c.

NUMBER XXXVII. Queen Mary to the King of France.

(*From the old French; Jebb*, 599.)

" Monſieur, my Brother-in-law, Not to be wanting to the obligation, which I lye under for the ſignal and commendable ſervi-

ces,

ces, which agreeable to your intention, I have received, in my affairs in this country, from Caſtelnau during his Embaſſy in this kingdom, I have thought I could not do leſs, upon his returning to you, than to ſend with him, this teſtimony and prayer in his favour; That as the little that remains to me of means in this world, does not enable me, to be grateful to him according to his merits and my favour, it may pleaſe you to take them into conſideration yourſelf, along with the recompenſe which he has to receive from you, for his good and ancient ſervices. And for a beginning, I beg you moſt affectionately, that the Bailliage de Vitry which I have granted him, being in my gift, may be made good to him, in which itſelf I have great intereſt, for the preſervation of my rights; and referring to him to impart to you an account of my preſent ſtate, and ſome other particulars which I have committed to him, I will conclude with my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to give you a long and happy life." Tuthbury, 15th Auguſt 1585. Yours, &c.

MARIE.

At the ſame time, and in the ſame ſtrain, Queen Mary wrote in favour of Caſtelnau, to the Queen of France, the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of Guiſe: Proofs among many

others, of the warmth of her gratitude and regard for her friends and ſervants. But her wiſhes were diſappointed; the King diſpoſed of Vitry to another perſon; and the Duke of Guiſe deprived him of the Government of St Dizier. The laſt ſervice which Caſtelnau rendered to Queen Mary in England, was to procure her conveyance from Tuthbury to the Caſtle of Chartley. Queen Mary, on this account elated by obliging letters and illuſory hopes from the Engliſh Queen, wrote (Auguſt 17. 1585, Jebb, 602.) thus to Caſtelnau.——"I have received letters from the Queen of England, full of ſo much courteſy and demonſtration of good will, that I muſt tell you, I have not felt theſe fourth months, ſuch conſolation under all my miſeries, both in mind and body, as I have done by this remembrance, which it appears ſhe has of me and of my ſtate here. I beg you to thank her very affectionately for it, on my part, and preſent her my anſwer which I here ſend you upon it; upon which you may moſt certainly aſſure her in my name, that I will always render her, as much duty, friendſhip, reſpect and obedience, in all that ſhall concern her good, grandeur and government as if ſhe were my own eldeſt Siſter; promiſing myſelf reciprocally from her, farther proof of her good diſpoſition towards me, which my enemies by their perverſe counſels have not yet permitted her

to

to ſhow. And whatever may happen, I will live and die a good Engliſh-woman; paying more attention to the good of the Queen my good Siſter, and to the welfare of the country and the nation, than to the particular factions of my enemies, or to the injuries which I have received from them, as to myſelf," &c.

This joy, ſays Laboureur, did not laſt long: Queen Mary found that her tranſlation to Chartley was put off upon Caſtelnau's leaving England; and it was, only acompliſhed by the King of France, who, at the inſtance of Caſtelnau, made Queen Elizabeth fulfil her promiſe.

NUMBER XXXVIII. Queen of Scots to Charles Paget.

(*From the old Engliſh; Murdin*, 531.)

" I hope this ſhall find you returned from your journey to Spa, which I would be ſorry to diſlike, but on the contrary ſhould of myſelf have preſſed you to it, if I had known it had been neceſſary for you; being bound to take care of your health, as you moſt vigilantly, take of all that concerns my ſervice. Your repreſentation, to commit to few hands the managing of my affairs, pleaſes me very much; and I am accordingly reſolved

ſolved not to hold for the future, any ordinary intelligence with any man, unleſs with thoſe whom I ſhall depute in every quarter; namely, beſides my Ambaſſador, yourſelf and Morgan for France: But without my Ambaſſador meddling with the affairs here, farther than I ſhall empower him to treat with my relations. For Spain, the Lord Paget, while he is there; and Sir Francis Englefield, my ordinary agent. For Rome, Dr Lewis, if he will accept the office. For the Low-Countries, Liggens. For Scotland, the Lord Claud Hamilton; and Courcelles who was with Caſtelnau for conveying my packets here. If it ſhould happen, that Morgan is obliged to leave France, which I ſhall by all means endeavour to prevent, my intention is to place him at Rome. I cannot but praiſe you for the teſtimony you give me of his fidelity; and I can aſſure you, he has deſerved no leſs at your hands. Upon the return of Ballard to this country, the principal Catholics who had diſpatched him over ſea, have imparted to me their intentions agreeable to what you write me of them; but they more particularly aſked my direction for executing the whole. I have made them a very ample diſpatch; containing point by point, my advice in all things requiſite, as well for here, as without the realm, to bring their deſigns to good effect; and have ſent them word, in order not to loſe time, that, having

having reſolved among themſelves, what to do upon the ſaid diſpatch, they may make haſte to impart the ſame to Mendoza the Ambaſſador of Spain, ſending over along with the reſolution, either Ballard, or ſome other the moſt ſecret and faithful they can find, and to be by them ſufficiently inſtructed; having promiſed them that I ſhall write to Mendoza, as I am immediately about to do, to give credit to their meſſenger or deputy. So that I truſt if ever the Pope and the King of Spain have had an intention to provide for this State, the occaſion is now offered, very advantageous; finding with reſpect to it, the Catholics ſo univerſally diſpoſed and ready, that there is more ado to keep them back, than to urge them to the contrary. And as to all objections and difficulties that Mendoza can allege, as to my getting out of this confinement, or others, he ſhall be ſufficiently informed and ſatisfied. There remains then only to ſolicit as warmly as can be, both in Rome and Spain, their grant of the ſupport requiſite, as well of horſe and foot, as of arms, ammunition and money; if his Holineſs and the King of Spain will in anywiſe favour this enterpriſe, in which I deſire they would declare themſelves deciſively and plainly, without drawing things to length by artificial negociation and vain hope, as has been done hitherto. I have written to the Catholics that till they have a ſufficient

promiſe

promiſe and aſſurance from the Pope and the King of Spain for accompliſhing what is required of them, nothing ſhould be moved here; for otherwiſe, they will but overthrow themſelves without any profit. I well perceive, that before the recovery of Cuba and Domingo, and the arrival of the Flota from the Indies, it will be difficult to obtain any forces for this kingdom, from the King of Spain; but as theſe are matters which are to be executed before the end of this ſummer at the fartheſt, the enterpriſe in this country may in the mean while be reſolved upon; and upon the reſolution being taken, to prepare all that ſhall be neceſſary, as well within, as without the realm. I am well pleaſed, that ſuccours ſhould come from the Low-Countries, as you write; but I hardly believe that the Prince of Parma, being ſo hard matched as he is, can now ſpare ſo much, as were neceſſary for the enterpriſe here. I thank you heartily for the three-ſcore Crowns you gave to Ballard, which I have commanded my Ambaſſador expreſsly to reimburſe to you without any delay; but to have any more in ſtore for the like occaſion, is not at all, at this time in my power; my revenues from thoſe wars and bad treatment, which you know I have from the king of France, being ſo expreſsly ordered, to be kept in reſerve, and be employed upon my getting out of this priſon. I would be glad

to know how you have proceeded with the Lord Claud, in the matter I wrote to you not long ſince; which being effectuated, would concur well with the enterpriſe here. And ſo I pray God to preſerve you." At Chartley the 27th July 1586.

NUMBER XXXIX. Queen of Scots to Thomas Morgan.

(From the old Engliſh; Murdin, 532.)

" At Pietro's laſt return, from theſe parts, I had at once, three of your letters; one dated 13th June, the moſt part in Pietro's recommendation; another, the 9th May, concerning Babington; and a third of the 20th July 1585, intended as it ſhould ſeem, to have been ſent me by Blount, but came to my hands with a letter of Polly's, as I judge from ſome reward he thanks me for in it, received beyond ſea. Otherwiſe, the letter being in an unknown hand, without ſubſcription, or name in it, I am not ſure from whence it came; Blount himſelf being now with Leiceſter. Neither can I tell, by whom to ſend back my anſwer again to Polly for his offers made courteouſly to me; becauſe he has named no particular man to me, to whom he committed the ſending of his, which came with an infinite number, that different

ferent other perſons confuſedly ſent me; and to commit his name to others, by gueſs, is a thing I am not accuſtomed to do, as for the greater ſecurity, I keep them whom I have to deal with, all unknown, as much as I can, to each other; as well for fear, that if one is apprehended, others may be diſcovered, as for preventing jealouſy, which is ordinarily conceived among them, to the ruin of the whole. I dare not venture to addreſs my anſwer to Polly, before I learn and hear from him and you, to whoſe hands I ſhall commit it; from which although a delay be occaſioned, yet the fear of inconvenience will excuſe my taking this courſe; and I pray you, ſo ſoon as you can, to tell him thus much from me; and by his next or by your's, let me know particularly the way he has found hither, and by it, he ſhall have an anſwer, if it pleaſe God, to your ſatisfaction and his.

As to Babington, he has both kindly and courteouſly offered himſelf, and all his means, to be employed any way I ſhould chooſe. Upon which I hope I have ſatisfied him, by two of my ſeveral letters ſince I had his. He has ſeen (*by this time*) that my letters, have been beforehand with him; in making all lawful excuſes on my part, for the long ſilence between us. As for the being jealous of Fulgeam, or of any other, I really gave him (*Babington*) no cauſe; and if my former ordinary

ordinary method, had not been, marred by ſome of their own too free and unneceſſary declaring and revealing, of what they were negotiating, and of their good will in every cauſe (*of mine*), more of them had now been employed to ſerve both in general and particular, for their own benefit and my greater comfort. I ſhall notwithſtanding do my beſt, to keep hold of Babington according to your advice. I pray you, continue to inform me from time to time, of every occurrence you hear in any country; and by your next eſpecially, to tell me what you mean in your laſt by adviſing me to aſk Sir Jervais Clifton's conſent in beſtowing of Beſſe Pierpoint, whom I have never ſought to beſtow in marriage upon any; neither before nor ſince I made it be propoſed at the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's ſolicitation, and by her means to the Lord Percy now Earl of Northumberland; which I think you have heard of, nor have I had any intention for any other (*huſband to her*); but rather on the contrary have petitioned by the Queen of England's permiſſion, this half year to be rid of her; as ſhe is now in her prime, and has been brought up to ſleep and eat with me, ever ſince ſhe was four years of age; ſo carefully and virtuouſly I truſt, as if ſhe had been my own daughter; and my own means failing, to get her preferred, that her own parents, for the acquitting of my conſcience and of my honour-

able

able treatment of her, might not blame me for her loſs of time, and other inconveniencies. Upon that I offered her, as a part of her education, (to do her honour), to ſerve about the Queen of England, which is not yet granted; and yet of a ſudden (*afterward*) they would have had her from me, which I could not agree to; ſuch genteel cloaths as I then had ordered, againſt her departure, being not yet ready, as ſhe and they both, are now, at an hour's warning. But to be plain with you, I wiſh the rather to be quit of her, as I ſee ſo much of her grandmother's nature, in her behaviour every way, notwithſtanding all my pains to the contrary; and therefore I would now be ſorry, to have her beſtowed upon any man that I wiſh well to. I have heard of Ballard, of whom you write, but nothing from himſelf, as *(I)* have no correſpondence with him. I thank you for advices, upon the report given out of my death, to take heed that it be not haſtened by indirect or extraordinary means; and ſo I will by the grace of God, Whom I praiſe daily for not having yet reduced me ſo low (*in ſtrength*), but that I am able to handle my croſs-bow for killing a deer, and to gallop after the hounds on horſeback, as this afternoon I intend to do, within the limits of this park, and could do elſewhere, if it were permitted. God Almighty preſerve you." At Chartley the 27th July 1586.

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NUMBER XL. Queen Mary to the Duke of Guiſe.

(*From the French; Jebb*, 283.)

" My good Couſin, if God, and you after him, do not find means to ſuccour your poor Couſin, now, all is over. This bearer will tell you how I am treated, and my two Secretaries. For God's ſake aſſiſt them and ſave them if you can. They are to accuſe me of having deſigned to trouble the State, and having laid plots againſt the life of this Queen, or of having conſented to them; but I have declared to them, what is true, that I knew not what the matter is. They ſay they have ſeized certain letters (*of mine*) to one Babington, and one Charles Paget and his brother, which prove this conſpiracy; and that Nau and Curl have acknowledged it. I declare they (*Nau and Curl*) cannot; if they do not make them ſay, more than they know, by force of torture. Lo! all that they have told me of this; but I know, by means of correſpondence, that they threaten you much, you and your League, and ſtrengthen themſelves by means of certain Princes who will tolerate their religion. I have declared to them, that as for me, I am reſolved to die for mine, as ſhe (*Elizabeth*) proteſted ſhe would do for the Proteſtant; and upon this,

my Couſin, whatever you may hear by their falſe ſpreaders of reports, aſſure yourſelf, that with the aid of God, I will die in the Roman Catholic faith, and for the maintenance of it firmly; without diſhonouring the Houſe of Lorrain, accuſtomed to die for the ſupport of the faith. Make prayers be offered up to God for me; and get my body brought from hence, to be placed in holy ground, and have pity on my poor deſtitute ſervants; for they have taken every thing away from me here; and I lay my account with poiſon, or other ſuch ſecret death. For although they have rendered me almoſt maimed, my right hand, ſince this laſt event, being ſo ſwelled and making me ſo ill, that I hardly can hold the pen nor feed myſelf, yet notwithſtanding this, courage ſhall not fail me, in hope that He, who has made me what I am, will give me grace to die for his cauſe; which is the ſole honour I deſire in the world, in order to obtain by this means the compaſſion of God in another. I deſire that my body may be *(buried)* at Rheims, beſide my late good-mother; and my heart beſide the late King, my Lord. This bearer will tell you more particulars. If at this time, it ſhould appear, that there were any regard for me, and a wiſh to ſee me reſtored and to avenge this quarrel which affects the common cauſe, it would be very wonderful, for every thing totters as to this point. Adieu, my good Couſin;

Couſin; impart this to my Ambaſſador; and if my ſon does not concur now, in avenging his mother, I give him up; and I beg you, that all my relations may do the ſame." Fotheringay, October 1586.

Your good Couſin,

MARIE R.

From the above, and other letters of Queen Mary to Paget, Morgan, and the Duke of Guiſe, it appears, that ſhe had a great number of warm friends and agents, both in this iſland, and in many countries on the continent. That ſhe was extremely ſolicitous and active, to procure her eſcape from priſon; and likewiſe an invaſion to be made upon England by foreign Princes, in order to reinſtate her on the throne of her own kingdom, was in the higheſt degree natural and unblameable. Nothing can be conſtrued, at the ſame time, into a concurrence with Babington's conſpiracy.

NUMBER XLI. Laſt Letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

(From the old French; Jebb, 295, &c.)

" Madam, Not having been able to obtain liberty, from thoſe to whom I have been, as

it were, delivered up by you, to lay before you, what I had at heart; as well to clear myſelf from malevolence, or a wiſh to be guilty of cruelty or any hoſtile act againſt you, with whom I am ſo much conjoined by blood, as alſo charitably to communicate to you, what I thought might tend as well to your ſafety and preſervation, as for the maintenance of the peace and quiet of this iſland: A thing which could do no harm; it being in your power, to accept or reject my advice, to believe or diſbelieve my diſcourſe, as you ſhould think beſt.—I reſolved to ſtrengthen myſelf in Jeſus Chriſt alone, Who, to thoſe, who in tribulation call upon Him, with a good heart, never fails to adminiſter juſtice and conſolation; and eſpecially, when without any human aid, they are under His ſole protection. To Him alone, be the glory; He has not diſappointed my expectation, having given me courage and ſtrength; *in ſpe contra ſpem*, to endure the unjuſt calumnies, accuſations and condemnations of thoſe, who have not ſuch juriſdiction *(power)* to ſuffer death for the maintenance and ſupport of the Catholic Apoſtolical and Roman Church. Now that there has been on your part, intimated to me, the ſentence of your laſt Aſſembly of the States, admoniſhing me by Lord Buckhurſt and Beale, to prepare myſelf for the end of my long and ſorrowful pilgrimage, I have begged them, to thank you

you on my part, for ſo agreeable tidings, and to ſupplicate you to allow me certain privileges, for the relief of my conſcience; which ſince that time, Paulet made me falſely underſtand that you have gratified me, having reſtored me my Almoner and the money which was taken from him, aſſuring me that the reſt would follow (*be granted*). For which I have been much diſpoſed to render you thanks, and to beg of you one laſt favour more, which I think for many reaſons, it belongs only to you to communicate, as being a laſt favour, for which I deſire to be obliged by no other, ſeeing no room to hope but every reaſon to fear the puritans, who are the higheſt now in authority, and the moſt zealous againſt me, God knows in favour of whom: I mean to accuſe no body, but I heartily pardon every one, as I deſire that every one may pardon me, and God in the firſt place; and ſince I know, that you more than any other, ought to have at heart the honour or diſhonour of your blood, and of a Queen and the daughter of a King. Wherefore, Madam, in honour of Jeſus, to Whoſe name, all Powers ſhould bow, I require you to allow, after my enemies ſhall have glutted their deſire for my innocent blood, that my poor diſconſolate ſervants may all together carry my poor body, to be buried in holy ground; and beſide ſome of my predeceſſors, who are in France; particularly the late

Queen

Queen my mother, and this, becauſe in Scotland the bodies of the Kings my predeceſſors have been violated, and the Churches pulled down and profaned; and becauſe I ſuffer in this country, I cannot be laid beſide your predeceſſors and mine; and what is more, according to our religion, we hold it a great matter to be interred in holy ground: And ſince I am told that you will not in any thing force my conſcience nor religion, and that even you have granted me a Prieſt, I hope that you will not refuſe me this laſt requeſt, to allow me at leaſt a free burial to my body, from which the ſoul ſhall be ſeparated; as when they were united, they never could obtain freedom to live in quiet, although employed in procuring it (*quiet*) to you yourſelf. Upon which, before God, I do not impute to you any ſin: But may God make you ſee the truth of all, after my death. And for this purpoſe, as I dread the ſecret tyranny of thoſe, to whoſe power you have abandoned me, I beſeech you not to permit that I be executed in ſecret, and without your knowledge; not on account of the fear of torment which I am perfectly ready to ſuffer, but on account of the (*falſe*) report which they might circulate concerning (*my behaviour at*) my death; as they have done, I am perſuaded concerning that of others, of diverſe ranks. For this reaſon, I require that my ſervants may remain ſpectators and witneſſes

witneſſes of my ending (*my days*) in the faith of my Saviour, and in the obedience of his Church; and that they all together, carrying away my body, as ſecretly as you ſhall pleaſe, may depart, without any perſon taking from them, either the effects, or what at my death I may leave to them, which is very little for their good ſervices. A jewel which I received from you, I ſhall return to you with my laſt words, or ſooner, if it pleaſe you. I beg you, once more, and require of you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, from a reſpect to our conſanguinity, from a regard to Henry the Seventh your grandfather and mine, from the honour of that ſtation which we have filled, and from the common ſex between us, that my demand may be granted. As to the reſt, I conſider, that it is well known to you, that in your name, my Canopy has been taken down, and after I was told, that this was not by your order but by the advice of ſome of your Council. They have not thought proper to allow me to write to you, till after having, as far as in them lies, ſtripped me of princely rank and nobility; telling me that I was only a ſimple dead woman, uncapable of all dignity. God be praiſed for all. I would wiſh all my papers were preſented to you without diſguiſe, that it might appear that my ſole concern for your ſafety, has been the motive to action, with all thoſe who are

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ſo bent upon perſecuting me. If you grant me this my laſt requeſt, command that I may ſee, what you ſhall write upon it; for otherwiſe, they will make it paſs for what they pleaſe. And I deſire to know your laſt anſwer to my laſt requeſt. To conclude, I pray the God of mercy and the juſt Judge, that He may enlighten you with His holy Spirit, and that He may give me grace to die in perfect charity, as I prepare myſelf to do; pardoning my death to all thoſe who have been the cauſe of it, or who have co-operated towards it. And ſuch ſhall be my prayer till my end, which I conſider to be fortunate, in going before the affliction which I ſee menaces this iſland, if God be not more truly feared and revered in it, and if vanity and wordly policy be not better regulated and ſubdued. Do not accuſe me of preſumption, if upon leaving this world, and preparing myſelf for a better, I remonſtrate to you, that, one day, you will have to anſwer for your conduct as well as thoſe, who are ſent thither, before you." From Fotheringay this 19th December (1586.)

Your Siſter and wrongfully impriſoned Couſin,

MARIE R.

No anſwer was returned to this letter; and none of the requeſts contained in it, were granted.

